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**TRANSLATION OF FOUR SHORT TEXTS OF DIFFERENT GENRES FROM
CROATIAN INTO ENGLISH**

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ABSTRACT

The main body of this B.A. thesis consists of four translations from Croatian into English. The texts are of different genres. In the introduction I focused on the brief history of translation and some of the aspects that were important during its development. The introduction is followed by four translations. Each text has an introduction in which I explained where I found the text and its subject. Also, each translation is followed by an analysis of the problems that I have encountered while producing them. These translations are followed by a conclusion where I focused on the overall translation and its outcome. At the very end of this thesis is a bibliography, i.e. the sources that I have used and the appendices containing the original texts that I have translated.

INTRODUCTION

Translation is a phenomenon that has become widely used nowadays. We use it in our everyday life – it ranges from serious translations of news, contracts, international documents to everyday use such as signs on nearby shops, translations of menus in restaurants, subtitles of our favourite TV shows etc. Its history dates back to the ancient times. It is considered to be one of the oldest crafts. Oral translations precede written translations. (Ivir, 1978) The translation of Homer's *Odyssey* into Latin in 250 BC by Livius Andronicus, a slave of Greek origin is considered to be the oldest translation. In history, translation was extremely important for the standardization of certain languages which helped cultures to develop and prosper.

The term translation can refer to several things – to the general subject field, the product (the text that has been translated) or the process of translating. (Munday, 2001) It has many definitions, but the one that is perhaps the most used is that it is taking an original (also called source text written in a source language) and translating it into another language (also called target language and the translated text a target text). What seems to be one of the most exhausting problems for translators and translation theory is the debate over the literal or free translation. It goes back to Cicero in the first century BCE and St Jerome in late fourth century BCE. In one of his most famous works, Cicero stated: "And I have not translated them as a literal interpreter, but as an orator giving the same ideas in the same form and mould, as it were, in words conformable to our manners; in doing which I did not consider it necessary to give word for word, but I have preserved the character and energy of the language throughout" (Cicero, *De optimo genere oratorum*). He explains that the interpreter

would translate the language literally, word-for-word. On the opposite, the orator would use a free translation whose aim would be to move the listeners. (Munday, 2001) This free translation, also called sense-for-sense translation was further cited in fourth century by St Jerome, one of the most famous translators having translated the Bible into Latin (known as the Vulgate). He supports Cicero's beliefs and holds that the goal of a translation is to search for the meaning. Although the controversy might still not be completely solved today, it is usually suggested that the merging of word-for-word and sense-for-sense translations provides the best results.

In Europe, the Arab school of translation was especially important. They translated Greek texts by Aristotle, Plato and other philosophers into Arabic. Most of the texts translated during the Middle Ages were religious. Bible was the most often translated book. Here we should mention Martin Luther whose translation of Bible into German language set the foundation for the standard German language in the 16th century. (Ivir, 1978) Renaissance brought classic works back to life and they were massively translated. With the invention of the printing machine, translation underwent a significant change.

During the 19th and 20th century translating became very popular. Furthermore, new theories of translation emerged. Nowadays, it includes a wide range of languages (almost all languages of the world) and an even wider range of subjects. Since we live in the time of technology and globalisation, we constantly feel connected to the entire world. To be able to communicate with people that surround us, but also the ones that are far away, we often have to translate our messages in order for others to understand us. Knowing other languages today seems more crucial than it ever was and the significance of translation is likely to increase.

1. TRANSLATION OF AN ARTICLE FROM THE FIELD OF SOCIAL STUDIES

1.1. Introduction

The first article I have chosen to translate comes from the fields of history and demography. I found it on *Hrčak*, the central portal of Croatian scientific journals. *Hrčak* is an easily accessible online database of articles and journals from various scientific areas, such as natural sciences, technical sciences, biomedicine and healthcare, biotechnical sciences, social sciences, humanistic sciences etc. This portal is supported by the Croatian Ministry of Science, Education and Sport. The article I have translated belongs to the field of social and humanistic sciences. The author of the article is Jelena Zlatković Winter, a research associate who works at the The Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies in Zagreb. She gives a brief historical overview of migrations in Europe and focuses on current migration trends and their consequences. The article contains some history and demography-related terms and is full of migration statistics.

1.2. Translation

Current migrations in Europe

SUMMARY

After a brief historical review of migrations in Europe, the paper focuses on current migration trends and their consequences. At the end of the 1950's, countries in Western Europe began to recruit labour from several Mediterranean countries – Italy, Spain, Portugal and former Yugoslavia, and later from Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Turkey. Some countries, such as France, Great Britain and the Netherlands, also recruited workers from their former colonies. In 1970 Germany had the highest absolute number of foreigners (3 million), followed by France, and then Switzerland and Belgium. The total number of immigrants in

Western Europe was twelve million. During the 1970's, mass recruitment of foreign workers was abandoned, and only the arrival of their family members was permitted, which led to family reunification in the countries of employment. Europe closed its borders, with the result that illegal migration increased once again. The year 1989 was a turning point in the history of international migrations. The political changes in the Central and Eastern Europe brought about mass migration to the West, which culminated in the so-called “mass movement of 1989–1990”. The arrival of ethnic Germans to Germany, migration inside and outside of the territory of the former Soviet Union, an increase in the number of asylum seekers and people displaced due to war are – according to the author – the main traits of current migrations. The main part of the paper discusses the causes and effects of this mass movement, as well as trends in labour migration, which are still present. The second part of the paper, after presenting a typology of migrations, deals with the complex processes that have brought about the formation of new communities and led to the phenomenon of new ethnic minorities and with the corresponding migration policies in Western European countries that had to address these issues.

KEY WORDS: migration, migration policy, European Union, the Schengen agreement

In comparison with the population of the other continents, the Europeans migrated the most. By the end of the World War II, the majority of Europeans were forced to migrate due to the change of state borders – especially those of Germany, Poland and former Czechoslovakia. The biggest migration in human history took place after the World War II, when around fifteen million people entered countries of Western Europe. After a while, some of them went back to their countries of origin, but most of them stayed (Stalker, 2002: 152).

In the late 1940's and 1950's, overseas migrations took place. Three million people left Europe, but the colonists from the former colonies of Great Britain, France and the

Netherlands, such as India, Algeria, Angola and Mozambique came to Europe. (Fassmann, Münz, 1994: 4).

After the stabilization of the post-war flows, Europe underwent restructuring because the countries of Western Europe lacked work force. The first ones to be recruited as a work force were people displaced due to war. Some countries recruited workers from their former colonies, followed by the work force from less industrialized countries such as Ireland and Finland, a few Mediterranean countries – Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece, and later from the former Yugoslavia, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Turkey (Fassmann, Münz, 1994: 7). In 1970, Germany had the highest absolute number of foreigners (3 million), followed by France, and then Switzerland and Belgium. The total number of immigrants in Western Europe at that time was twelve million (Castles, 2000: 55).

These workers were welcomed under the condition that their stay was only temporary and that they did not bring their families with them. Immigrant communities were formed, situated in the poorest areas of industrial parts of the city. It was not until the late 1960's that it became clear that instead of the planned temporary rotation of population, a permanent settlement had taken place.

The situation changed during the 1970's. The energy crisis and international recession brought about changes in migration policies. New, restrictive immigration measures were introduced. Mass recruitment of the foreign, mostly unskilled work force stopped but the influx of experts continued, and even intensified. The „Gastarbeiter“ model was replaced by the immigration for the purpose of reunification of families in the country of employment. At the same time, the migration policies of the traditional emigrant countries such as Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece shifted and they became immigrant countries. They recruited work force from Eastern Europe, North Africa and Asia; most of the immigrants arrived spontaneously and without

any legal documents. Thus, illegal immigrations are one of the consequences of border closing in 1973.

In the mid-eighties the immigration pattern changed: the number of asylum seekers in Western European countries had increased. Between 1985 and 1991, the number more than tripled - it went from 192 000 to 661 000. Out of these, 37% (245 000) were people from former socialist countries. At the beginning of 1980's they came mostly from Poland, and later on from Yugoslavia, Romania, Albany and Bulgaria. Until that point, the biggest number of applications for asylum ever recorded was registered precisely during the year of 1993 – 704 000 people applied for asylum in Western Europe. Most asylum seekers were located in Germany (95 000), followed by Great Britain (88 000), Switzerland and the Netherlands. The biggest number of asylum seekers came from Kosovo. Those whose application for asylum had been denied, mostly stayed to work on the illegal labor market (IOM, 2000: 196–197).

The year 1989 was a turning point in the history of international migrations. The political changes in Central and Eastern Europe brought about mass migration to the West, which culminated in the so-called “mass movement of 1989–1990”. Until that time, no significant migration of population had taken place, except for the occasional migration eruptions – in 1956 from Hungary, in 1968 from Czechoslovakia and in 1981 from Poland when 200 000 people emigrated from each of these countries (Zlatkovis Winter, 1997: 112).

In 1989 alone, 1.3 million people emigrated from the member countries of the former Warsaw Pact. This was due to, in addition to the newly gained freedom, the growing economic, political, social and ethnic tensions which accelerated the migrations between the East and West and the internal migration trends. The year 1989 marked the end of an era in the history of international migrations in Europe.

The population that was mostly affected by ethnically motivated migrations („co-ethnic migrations“) consisted mostly of members of national minorities: Germans, Jews, Greeks. Germans from the former Soviet Union, Poland, Romania and other Eastern European countries mostly emigrated to Germany. In 1990, 340 000 Germans from Eastern Germany and 397 000 ethnic Germans from other countries (148 000 from Soviet Union, 134 000 from Poland, 111 150 from Romania) emigrated to Germany. Hungarians were migrating too (from Romania and Slovakia), as well as Poles (from Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Siberia) and Russians (from the Baltic countries). Between 1987 and 1991, more than 308 000 Jews left the Soviet Union, 291 000 of which left it in the period between 1990 and 1991. Others were migrating, too: in 1989, 370 000 Turks emigrated from Bulgaria to Turkey (Zlatkovis Winter, 1997: 113).

Apart from ethnic migrations to the countries of origin, „humanitarian“ – forced migrations overflowed Europe. Refugees, exiles, people displaced due to war and asylum seekers formed the basic migration contingent in the 1990's. Refugees mainly came as a part of the government programs which were the result of negotiations with international organizations, while asylees have sought refugee status – either at the state border or when they had already entered the state.

The biggest migrations were caused by the wars in the former Yugoslavia. The number of exiles and refugees from former Yugoslavia rose from 2.6 to 4.6 million people between the October of 1992 and April of 1993. Since the beginning of the war (in 1991), until 1998 more than million people from the territory of former Yugoslavia emigrated to Western Europe: 600 000 of them from Bosnia and Herzegovina and 400 000 from Croatia and other countries of former Yugoslavia. Germany accepted the biggest number of refugees (200 000 from Bosnia and Herzegovina and 35 000 from Croatia) (IOM, 2000: 175). In 1998 a mass migration from Kosovo started. Out of 400 000 displaced people, 90 000 sought asylum in

Western and Central Europe, while others returned to Kosovo by the end of the 2000 based on the recommendation of the UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) (IOM, 2000: 174; SOPEMI, 2001: 22).

According to the data from May 1993, most refugees from the former Soviet Union republics were settled in Azerbaijan (more than 546 000). About 200 000 of them escaped from Armenia, while 295 000 of them were banished from Nagorno-Karabakh (a landlocked region in the South Caucasus) and other parts of Azerbaijan which border Armenia (UNHCR, 1995: 24).

At the same time, countries in Eastern and Central Europe (Poland, The Czech Republic and Hungary) were facing a new phenomenon: work migrations, both legal and illegal, from other countries of Eastern Europe and the countries of the former Soviet Union, as well as asylum seekers from the Third World.

In a relatively short period, Hungary went from a country of potential source of migrants to a typical „first asylum country“, or a transit country for migrants from less developed countries who want to illegally cross to the Western Europe. Despite the expectations, mass migration from East to West never took place - 2.5 million people in the first half of the 1990's did leave the former Soviet Union and Central European as well as East European countries. (IOM, 2000: 171).

The twentieth century was marked by the immigration of ethnic Germans to Germany, migrations inside and outside of the territory of the former Soviet Union, the growing number of asylum seekers and people displaced due to war.

Since 1997, new trends have emerged. Alongside the still present migrations of asylum seekers, illegal migrations became a growing problem, especially in the immigrant countries of the Mediterranean – Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece. Concerning Europe as a whole, the

number of illegal migrations is estimated at 2-3 million, which makes about 10-15% of the overall population of foreign citizens. (IOM, 2000; Appleyard, 2001: 27).

The pattern of regular work migrations is different from that which was present in previous decades. The need for skilled labor is growing which leads to issuing temporary 5-year work licences which can be renewed. The cause of these changes lies in the rapid development of technology. The lack of work force is felt in the information and communication sector. Simultaneously, the aging of the population of the countries of the European Union has created the need for extra jobs helping the elderly with housework, as well as jobs in health care and education. Along with the regular work migration, migration for the purpose of reunification of families is still present. (SOPEMI, 2001; IOM, 2000).

Migrants still come, regardless of their reason – reunification of families, skilled or unskilled work, legal or illegal, temporary or permanent migration, from all continents and from almost every country. Countries of their origin are becoming more diverse – the number of nationalities in Western European countries is rising. Fifteen countries of the European Union are today home to eighteen million immigrants (out of about 375 million of the overall population).

The Netherlands, Germany and Sweden have the largest influx of immigrants, while the percentage of foreign nationals in the population is still the biggest in Switzerland, Belgium and Germany.

All sovereign states have the right to regulate the residency and the movements of foreign citizens. This right is grounded in law and administrative measures and it differentiates the types of residency of foreign citizens.

Typologies of migrations depend on the criteria on the basis of which the analyses have been performed. These are: the criterion of state boundaries, the criterion of the length of

migrations (permanent or temporary), the criterion of voluntariness (voluntary or forced), the criterion of organization (organized or uncontrolled) and the criterion of cause (motif) for the migrations.

A comprehensive classification subdivides migrations to voluntary and involuntary (forced). It also applies to both the internal and external migrations. The reasons for voluntary migrations are search for a job, reunification of families or other personal reasons, while the causes of involuntary (forced) migrations include banishments, conflicts, repression, ecological catastrophes and other situations which threaten human safety and freedom.

By combining the criteria of distance (long and short distance) and length (long term, periodical and seasonal) we derive basic types of migrants: permanent (settlers), temporary workers „under contract“, illegal workers, asylum seekers, refugees (Mesis, 2002: 263).

Each Western European country is a special case with its specific historical, demographical, economic and social factors which have shaped its migration patterns. Generally speaking, the percentage of foreign citizens in the immigrant-receiving countries depends on the migration tradition, networks established by the immigrants who already live there, the prospects of getting a job at the labor market and geographical accessibility of the country. This is why the approach to migration investigations is multidisciplinary. The basic analysis frame comes from the fields of economics, sociology, geography and demography. Also, it is important to consult the legal and political sciences, history and culture.

Political and economic opportunities have conditioned the immigration policies which, in turn have had an effect on the immigration flows by determining their size and the structure of migrants.

Given that the attitude of a country towards foreigners differs based on how it characterizes their stay, which can be treated either as a permanent settlement or a temporary migration, or

based on whether they are economic migrants or refugees, measures for the integration of foreigners differ or do not exist at all. Likewise, the attitude of a country towards migrants depends on the personal characteristics of immigrants such as their education level, knowledge of the language, age etc. From classic integrational policies which have mostly led to the ghettoization of foreigners, to modern multicultural immigration politics, the strategy regarding attitudes towards foreigners, as well as its implications, has changed.

In a classic rotational system, a migrant did not have any political or social rights and was often not allowed to bring his family with him. Unlike the migrants from the former colonies of Great Britain, France and the Netherlands (which get a citizenship of the receiving state), others are only allowed to stay as temporary residents. (Castles, 1984).

Migrants got jobs which did not require any qualifications, that were paid the least and were performed under the worst working conditions.

After the 1973 crisis, the mass recruitment of work force stopped. Restrictive measures towards foreign workers were implemented. These policies have been characterized by emphasising the priority and safety of local workers' interests, restricting and decreasing the number of foreign workers, restrictive and selective employment and, at the same time, enhancing the efforts to integrate and assimilate foreign workers. Many migrants were allowed permanent residency.

The policies stimulated family reunification which they thought of as a way of ensuring social stability and as a factor of better integration into the receiving country's society.

The second and third generation's connections with their parents' country of origin are becoming weaker: their future is in the countries which treat them as outsiders.

This leads to the emergence of ethnic minorities in Western Europe. Nevertheless, not all immigrants become ethnic minorities. The characteristics of ethnic minorities are based on

their origins or culture and the consciousness of belonging to a culture which is based on common language, tradition, religion, history and experience. (Castles, 2000: 63).

While highly educated migrants mostly practice individual integration, migrants with lower education often experience discrimination. Thus, in Great Britain the fear of „colored ghettos“, in France of „Arab neighbourhoods“, in Germany of „Turkish areas“ arises. Millions of people migrate across state borders: some do it on a temporary basis, but almost every migration leads to permanent settlement and the creation of ethnic minorities. Therefore, ethnic minorities are seen as one of the consequences of mass recruitment or immigrant worker policies.

Nowadays, integration is seen as enabling successful access to the social and cultural institutions of receiving countries. Access includes organizing and self-organizing, especially in the fields of legislation and political participation, education, health care, housing and free time. Some countries, such as Germany, Great Britain and Sweden spread their new immigrants equally across the entire country, but the effect of such policy is restricted because it is only applied to new immigrants and it does not have any impact on the population of immigrants which already live there.

The term „multiculture“ is being increasingly used to refer to the culturally varied modern societies which are partly the result of migration movements.

Multiculturalism also holds guarantees of cultural and language rights of minorities. The purpose of multiculturalism is a full political, economic and social integration of all the members of society, regardless of their ethnicity. Its measures also include fighting against discrimination and advocating the ensuring of equal possibilities in all domains. This has not yet been accomplished, but it is stated as a request for fair and humane immigration politics and recognition of the rights of immigrants and ethnic minorities within multicultural

societies. At the same time, theoreticians of migrations advocate the need for studies of complex political relations inside, between and across national states to discover the key mechanism of social change and apply it directly to the experience of certain individuals (Mitchell, 1989).

With the Schengen Agreement, the borders between the states of the European Union have been abolished, and the outer borders are becoming increasingly important. The Union establishes migration measures towards immigrants outside the countries of EU which include the rules on Visa Regime, common policies towards asylum seekers and external border control.

As we can see, immigration policies of the receiving countries changes from liberal in the 1950's and 1960's, to restrictive in the 1970's. The unification of Europe has brought the countries of the European Union closer when it comes to minding their external borders. At the same time, as the result of the workforce shortage and low birth rates in the EU, an acceleration of immigration into the EU is expected. Shifting of the borders and enlargement of the Union will not solve these problems. It would seem that the only effective solutions lie in the long term political strategies directed towards decreasing the wealth inequality and creating stability among all the countries of the world and allowing a greater number of legal residencies in the EU. In the short term, migrations from the Eastern Europe caused by the enlargement of the EU are expected. Nevertheless, in the long term, migrations will be more numerous from the less developed countries.

1.3. Commentary and analysis

The first problem that I encountered while translating this text was the title itself. I did not know whether to keep the word „kretanja“ and translate it as „movements“, but I have decided to use the option without it and just translate it as „Current migrations in Europe“.

Some sentences in the original text were too long and they would have sounded odd if I were to translate them as one sentence in English, so I had to separate them into two or more sentences. I did this in the case of sentence „Od toga broja 37% (245.000) bile su osobe iz bivših socijalističkih zemalja, na početku osamdesetih većinom iz Poljske, a kasnije iz Jugoslavije, Rumunjske, Albanije i Bugarske.“ which I broke up and translated as „Out of these, 37% (245 000) were people from former socialist countries. At the beginning of 1980's they came mostly from Poland, and later on...“. Again, I broke the very last sentences of the text into several separate sentences to make the meaning in the English version more clear to the reader. Furthermore, some phrases such as „migracijski tokovi“ sound strange if translated as „migration trends“, so I again opted for using the term „migrations“ only. There were some terms whose meanings I have not encountered before, such as „Nagorno-Karabakh“. After finding out the meaning behind it, that it is a landlocked region in the South Caucasus, I have decided to put it in the brackets because I think only a few people are aware of it. I did the same thing with the term UNHCR, by putting the explanation of the acronym in the brackets (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees).

Also, the term “ratom raseljene osobe” was one of the issues while translating. There are several options I found – “displaced people due to war”, “due to armed conflicts displaced persons” etc. In the end, I used the “people displaced due to war” option, since it tied in best with the rest of the text. The term “pomoćni poslovi u kući“, would sound strange if translated directly, so I changed it into „the need for extra jobs helping the elderly with housework” which explains it in more detail.

Since terms such as economy, economics, economical and economic appear a number of times in the text, I had to look up the exact distinction between them to make sure that I was using a proper term in the given context. I also checked the deeper meanings behind terms such as “immigrant” and “asylum seeker”.

The sentence „Europa se nakon smirivanja poslijeratnih tokova rekonstruirala“ was the one I had most problems with. I was not sure how to translate the term „rekonstruirala“ in the context of a country. After a few mistranslations such as „got reconstructed“, in the end I translated it as: „After the stabilization of the post-war flows, Europe underwent restructuring.“

There were some words whose meanings out of context could be understood as synonyms, such as „terms“ and „conditions“, but in some sentences they are not interchangeable. An example is the sentence „Radnici su bili dobrodošli, ali pod uvjetom da je njihov boravak privremen i da ne dovode svoje obitelji.“ where „uvjet“ could only be translated as „condition“. A similar situation happened with terms such as „inflow“ and „influx“ in the sentence „Masovna regrutacija strane, uglavnom nekvalificirane radne snage prestaje, ali je nastavljen, pa i pojačan, dotok stručnjaka“, where „dotok“ could only be translated as „influx“.

One of the most troubling sentences of this text was „tradicionalne emigracijske zemlje, Italija, Španjolska, Portugal i Grčka, mijenjaju karakter i postaju imigracijskim zemljama“. The phrase „mijenjaju karakter“ seemed strange and after a lot of thinking and changing it, I opted for the translation „traditional emigrant countries such as Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece shifted and they became immigrant countries“, rather than directly translating it as „changing character“ or similar.

Apart from these phrases and terms whose meanings I had to look up, I have had problems with the usual – using the right terminology, right articles and tenses. Overall, the text was at times difficult to follow because it contains demography-related terms and statistics which makes it repetitious.

2. TRANSLATION OF AN ARTICLE ABOUT LIVING WITH MEDICAL PROBLEMS

2.1.Introduction

The following article was published at an internet portal called *Telegram* which deals with social and cultural topics. They post articles about politics, sports, business, technology, culture etc. The article I have chosen is about a young girl who was diagnosed with cystic fibrosis, an incurable disease. It was written in the form of her diary. Therefore, it was easy to read and it kept my attention.

2.2. Translation

Matea has an extremely rare disease; doctors say she only has some ten years left. This is her diary.

I'm 22 years old and I suffer from cystic fibrosis. Medical books say I only have some eight to ten years of life left. Life expectancy for people who suffer from cystic fibrosis is approximately 30 years. I refuse to think that way. I believe that medicine will advance, I am sure they will find the cure. The solution will arise.

My doctor from Zagreb will call me and tell me that they have found the cure. Of course, I do think of death sometimes. It happens very rarely, mostly before I fall asleep. I lie in bed and think about leaving this life. I don't think about whether death will be painful, I don't imagine any lights and tunnels. I only think about the people I will leave behind me. It's not fair that the daughter should die before her parents. I can't stand the fact that someone will be sad because of me. I was born in 1994 in Livno. Right after my birth, the doctors concluded that something unusual was happening to me, so the ambulance took me to Split. During the next three months my health deteriorated, but nobody could diagnose my condition. I had difficulties with breathing, loose stools and I vomited often.

Finally, one doctor came up with the idea that they could measure the amount of chloride in my sweat, that is, give me the test which is used to diagnose cystic fibrosis. The test results confirmed that I have a rare disease, along with hundred people in Croatia. Cystic fibrosis is a genetic disorder. The disease affects breathing and causes disfunctions in the intestines and the liver. People suffering from cystic fibrosis should not be exposed to bacteria. They should avoid crowds and disinfect objects around themselves.

Digestive disorders are managed with drugs, proper nutrition and regular intake of vitamins, while chronic pulmonary disease mostly causes serious medical problems. The doctor showed no compassion. He said to my mom: „Missus, this baby will come to nothing. It would be good for you to start working on another one as quickly as possible.“ My mom replied that she would never give up on me. I spent the following year in hospital, and my mom sat beside my bed the entire time. I was in a terrible condition.

I couldn't breathe on my own. I was fed through a tube. I was six months old when I almost died for the first time. I couldn't breathe. My mom literally saved my life. She held me in her arms for the following 48 hours, constantly rocking me. My lungs finally started working again. Not long after this incident, they christened me at hospital. My parents were afraid I could experience the same condition again and did not want me to die unchristened.

I got out of the hospital not long after my first birthday, that is, only once the doctors were sure I had learned how to breathe on my own. On discharge from hospital, my mom received detailed instructions. She had to give me an asthma inhaler twice a day and give me the pills for digestion and liver. I remember that I often had stomach aches when I was a little girl. I did not realize I was sick for a long time. I believed that all children took pills, that it was a routine, just like washing your teeth twice a day.

I started going to school. I was still regularly taking the inhaler and swallowing the pills. I remember that my mom would often tell me when I was leaving the apartment: „Please, button your jacket. You know you can't get a cold“. I did not take her seriously. She was acting just like every other mother who constantly runs after their children, tucks their undershirts into their sweatpants, puts their hats on and buttons their jackets. Later, I realized why my mom was especially protective.

People who suffer from cystic fibrosis have to avoid getting colds and viral infections which can cause pneumonia. Pneumonia can be deadly for us. I remember how my stomach ache became worse in school. I asked my teacher to let me go to the toilet. I would stay there for a long time, sometimes for an entire hour. I would be really embarrassed when I had to come back. The children must have wondered what I had been doing on the toilet for such a long time. I did not confess to anyone that I had spent the entire time sitting on the toilet seat, bending over because of the unbearable pain.

Later, when the stomach cramps became more regular, I would mostly remain sitting behind the desk. I pretended I was okay. I tried to conceal I was in pain, horrible pain. Sometimes I would ask the teacher to let me go home. She would just nod her head. She did not ask me anything. She was the only one who knew I had cystic fibrosis. I always talked honestly with my mom about the disease. She once told me I would be fine as long as I took my therapy regularly.

She explained that therapy needs to become a normal part of my life. Mom always said that the disease was incurable, but I was obviously too young to understand the meaning behind that word. In the sixth grade of elementary school I became aware that the other children do not take drugs everyday. I went to some friends' houses. None of them had inhalers in their apartments. My friends started asking me more frequently how come I had stomach aches so often. „I have no idea“, I replied.

I realized that there had to be a serious reason why I never did P.E. I always sat on the bench, watching my friends running in front of me. I decided to confide in my best friend, Ivana. I told her I had some weird disease because of which I had to swallow a handful of pills every day. I could tell by the look in her eyes that she felt sorry for me. Shortly after that, I got stuck in hospital. I got pneumonia. I was running a high fever for days.

It was life-threatening. The doctors were literally fighting for my life. I think it was only then that I realized that my disease was more serious than I thought. In the second grade of high school I was diagnosed with two more conditions: arthritis and osteoporosis. One doctor explained to me that the cystic fibrosis was damaging my bones. I came back home and sat in front of the computer. That was the first time I typed in the name of my disease. A number of links opened.

I read a bunch of things I already knew. The disease is hereditary, it affects digestion and respiratory system, it is treated symptomatically. At the end of the text it said that the sufferers can't have children and that they live for approximately thirty years. What struck me the most was the first information. I have always wanted to have a baby. I felt terrible. I sat beside my mom on the couch and told her everything I had found out. „My dear, you haven't found out anything new. We have known all of this for a long time“, she explained.

I started frantically thinking about the past. My mom was right. I knew I had an incurable disease. Incurable. So, the disease there is no cure for, the disease you die of. It felt as if it was only then that I had processed this information completely. Mom started comforting me. She was saying that the medicine was advancing and that I had to believe in God. He can make anything possible. Soon, I met with Ivana for coffee.

I explained to her that my disease is terminal. She was very sad, but also angry. She accused me of having lied to her all that time. She confessed she had also googled it. She knew

everything, but she did not understand why I had kept quiet about it for years. I could barely explain to her that I did not lie. „Ivana, you have to realize that even I'm not aware I am seriously ill“. I had decided to live a normal life and listen to my mom's advice.

I did not let other people see me as a disabled person. People suffering from cystic fibrosis have to avoid smoky rooms. Yet, I still went to clubs, although I went out every half an hour to breathe in some fresh air. Two and a half years ago, I met Danijel. At that time, he regularly went to the coffee place near my mom's former hair salon. First we chatted on Facebook for a long time.

One day, he invited me for coffee. I realized that our relationship was getting more serious. I had decided to admit to him that I'm terminally ill. I will never forget his reaction. We were sitting in one of the cafes in Šibenik. Danijel was telling me about some event at his work. I was patiently waiting for him to finish. I started telling him that I was sick and that I couldn't have kids. Because of the osteoporosis, one day I would end up in a wheelchair.

My disease is incurable. Danijel started crying. I started talking him out of our relationship. I suggested that we should break up before we get too close. I felt terrible. I wanted to break up with the man I was already so much in love with. „No way“, replied my Danijel. He told me that none of the things I had said worried him. He kept saying how he loved me and wanted to be with me until the end.

We have been living together for the past year. Danijel helps me with everything, reminds me to take the pills and gets angry when I don't. He hugs me when I'm in a bad mood. „Don't think about the future. Live one day at a time“, he keeps repeating. We often laugh on the account of my disease. The other day I told him: „It doesn't matter, when I die you will find a different, much better girl than me“. Danijel works as a painter and I'm unemployed.

I have finished the Agricultural school in Šibenik, but I have always wanted to be a hairdresser. Even as a little girl, I was fascinated with my mom's job. But I'm not allowed to because of the disease. The state forbids us to work. Were I to accept some part-time job, I would lose the right to the disability benefit which amounts to 1250 kn per month, and no one knows how long I would be able to work. Now I sit at home and I am bored. Sometimes I go for a walk or coffee with my friends.

A few years ago, I met one girl from Slovenia who also had cystic fibrosis. We became friends very quickly, I had a feeling that she completely understood me. We often chatted. Her health suddenly deteriorated, and she sent me a message saying that she would soon have a lung transplantation. I replied that she should be brave, that everything will be fine, soon she would get new lungs and breathe easier. She sent me a smiley face. It was her last message.

After that I didn't hear from her for days, I kept visiting her profile. I was worried because she hadn't posted a single sentence, or a picture, nothing from which I could infer how the operation went. Finally, she posted a picture from hospital on her profile. She looked terrible and completely exhausted. I sent her a message: „Please, let me know what's going on.“ She never replied. After three days, a number of last farewells started piling up on her profile. R.I.P. So, my friend had died.

And in a few months she was supposed to visit me in Šibenik. I was desperate. I knew that most people who suffer from cystic fibrosis have to get a lung transplantation. I was scared for the first time. Who knows when I will end up having to have a lung transplantation operation? What if I end up like her? How will Danijel deal with my death? I know that the boyfriend of my friend from Slovenia was wrecked, he still has not made peace with her death.

I have never imagined my funeral. I think I would go crazy if I were to think that way. Also, I have never thought of making a list of things I want to do before I die, as people do in those American movies. I don't know when I will die. It could happen tomorrow or in two years. I don't want to plan my life based on one statistic. The books say that people who suffer from cystic fibrosis die in their thirties.

Some of them die before, and in the western countries, where people are being treated with experimental drugs, life expectancy is higher. I live for every day. When I feel good, I put on my make up, do my hair, put on high heels and I go out. When I feel bad, I stay at home in sweatpants. Three years ago, a family friend started a humanitarian action to buy a new inhaler and the so-called vest for lungs.

Today I feel much better and I breathe easier, thanks to this equipment. Many people donated for this cause. Sadly, some of them complained that the money is being collected for the girl who walks round Šibenik looking glitzy. I did not hold it against them. They can't know that being dressed up doesn't mean that I'm healthy, but only that I'm having a good day.

2.3. Commentary and analysis

This article seemed easy to translate at first, but it proved to be a lot harder while translating. Although it is written in the form of a diary which makes it easy to read and follow, it also contains some complex terms and medical expressions whose meanings I had to double check (for example; digestive problems, cystic fibrosis, tube for feeding...). The first problem that I encountered was the sentence „Cistična fibroza nastaje prilikom začeca.“ I first thought of leaving the translation as „is developed during conception, occurs during conception, appears during conception“ or similar, but it did not seem right. Therefore, I opted for the sentence „Cystic fibrosis is a genetic disorder.“ The situation with the sentence:

„Danima sam imala visoku temperaturu.“ was similar. After a few translations which did not work, I have chosen the translation „I was running a high fever for days.“ The sentence „Doktor nije bio nimalo empatičan.“ would sound strange if I were to translate it as „completely lacked empathy“, therefore I translated it as „The doctor showed no compassion.“

Also, for the sentence „Živi iz dana u dan“ I had to look up the proper expression in English, which turned out to be „Live one day at a time“. The term „humanitarna akcija“ in Croatian also sounded strange while I was translating. I did not know what the proper translation would be, as „action“ cannot work here. Therefore, I have opted for the single term „cause“ which has the same meaning in this context.

One of the sentences that I found the hardest to translate while keeping its meaning and sense was „Počela sam se intenzivno vraćati u prošlost.“ The literal translation as in „I started vehemently going to the past“ sounds odd. Therefore, I translated it as „I started frantically thinking about the past.“ which sounds a lot better.

I had to check the proper use of some collocations such as hereditary disease, terminally ill, unbearable pain, running a fever, experimental drugs etc. Also, I had to consult the dictionary for some collocations, such as with the phrase „life expectancy“ which collocates with „is higher“ rather than „increases“, „terminal disease“ rather than „deadly disease“ etc.

In the sentence „Znam da je dečko moje prijateljice iz Slovenije bio jako potresen“, the word „potresen“ could be translated in many ways. Nevertheless, not all words have the same effect. Therefore, I opted for the word „wrecked“ which gets its meaning and emotions across properly.

There were some words whose meanings are very similar but which are not interchangeable in a sentence. In the sentence „Sljedećih 48 sati držala me u naručju i konstantno tresla“, I

first thought of translating the word „tresla“ as „shake“ but in the end I figured out that in this context the intended meaning was „rocking“. A similar thing happened with the word „oprezna“ in the sentence „Kasnije sam shvatila zbog čega je moja mama bila posebno oprezna.“ After some thinking and different options (cautious, careful), I translated it as „protective“ which seems to be equivalent in this context.

In the sentence „Dva puta dnevno morala me je inhalirati i davati mi tablete za probavu i jetru.“, I was not sure how to translate „inhalirati“ in this context. In the end, I translated it as „She had to give me an asthma inhaler twice a day and give me the pills for digestion and liver“ because I thought that explaining it is an asthma inhaler makes it easier for the reader to create a mental image of the situation.

Also, there are some sentences whose word order and structure in Croatian cannot work in English, so I had to change them. An example of this is the sentence: „Sve joj je poznato, ali nije joj jasno zbog čega sam godinama o tome šutjela“ where „sve joj je poznato“ was translated as „She knew everything“. I also changed the word „cističari“ in this sentence „U knjigama piše da cističari umiru u tridesetima.“ where I have decided to translate it in more detail: „The books say that people who suffer from cystic fibrosis die in their thirties.“

Besides these problems, I also had problems with deciding which articles or tenses I should use while translating the text.

3. TRANSLATION OF AN ARTICLE FROM THE FIELD OF GEOGRAPHY

3.1. Introduction

The third article that I have chosen to translate is from the Croatian magazine „Meridijani“. It is a magazine of a publishing house with the same name. It was established in 1994 and the magazine has been coming out monthly ever since. It deals with topics from the fields of geography, history, ecology and travelling. It is known for its educative character and for being a Croatian product – all its writers and photographers are from Croatia. It also follows the national curriculum with its monthly topics. The article that I have translated is on Beijing – The modern Chinese dragon. It was written by Višnja Grabovac and it came out in June 2008. It offers a review of Beijing, its most famous sights, what is worth seeing and visiting, where and what to eat, how to behave in public etc. It is basically an article that is useful for anyone who is travelling or planning to travel to Beijing.

3.2. Translation

BEIJING – THE MODERN CHINESE DRAGON

If you decide to visit only a few, most advertised sights on the basic tourist offer in Beijing, you should be prepared to wear your shoes down. Beijing is a huge city with many attractions, but exploring the city requires a lot of time. It is a city with many faces – here you can find representative examples of traditional architecture and see a way of life that has not changed for centuries, but also some cold, ponderous and mundane buildings of the socialist realist architecture. Of course, there is also the present-day, modern Beijing that is expanding, growing and changing rapidly.

The Open Forbidden City

The heart of Beijing is the Forbidden City, the main and the biggest example of traditional architecture of the imperial history of this city. This complex of historical buildings that form the imperial palace was built between 1406 and 1420, during the Ming dynasty reign. The complex spreads across 72 000 square meters and it has almost 10 000 rooms. The Imperial palace is the biggest and the best preserved one in China. Over the period of almost half a millenium (491 years), that is, from the third emperor of the Ming dynasty (Zhu Di) to the last Chinese emperor of the Qing dynasty (Pu Yi), 24 emperors have lived and reigned in this palace. It has been restored many times, but its original appearance has been conserved, notwithstanding the souvenir shops, restaurants and branches of Starbucks that have sprung around it lately.

The main entrance is called the Meridian Gate (Wumen) because it was believed that the emperors were the Sons of Heaven and should therefore live at the center of the world. The emperor was the only one who was allowed to pass through the gate. The empress was granted this privilege only once, on her wedding day, while other dignitaries and members of the imperial family were allowed to pass only through the smaller arches. The city was well guarded and ordinary people were not allowed to enter it. Even an attempt to freely enter the city was punishable by capital punishment.

Nowadays, the Forbidden City is not forbidden anymore. The area that was once inaccessible to ordinary people is today almost impossible to explore for exactly the opposite reason. It is visited daily by thousands of tourists, peering into almost every corner of the imperial home, snapping cameras from the cash register to the exit. Flocks of domestic and foreign tourists which move around in circles led by guides with flags and megaphones, but also numerous Chinese sellers who will nag you the entire time by offering you souvenirs, make it hard to see anything.

Nevertheless, it is easy to notice that the city consists of two parts. The three main halls are located in the Inner court: the Hall of Supreme Harmony, the Hall of Central Harmony and the Hall of Preserved Harmony. The biggest of these is the Taihe Dian, the Hall of Supreme Harmony, erected in 1406. Grand ceremonies were held here on important occasions – emperors' birthdays, the Winter Solstice, Chinese New Year and similar. At the moment when the emperor would appear, the entire court would touch the floor with their foreheads nine times. The interior of the Hall is decorated with dragon motifs which were the symbol of emperors' power. At times when the emperor would speak to the public, he would sit on the so-called Dragon Throne, while the image of „two dragons playing with pearls“ on the ceiling protected him.“ It was believed that the pearl had the ability to detect a person who intended to jeopardize the emperor's power. In that case, the pearl would fall off the ceiling and kill the potential usurper.

The Inner Court is closed by the Palace of Heavenly Purity, the Hall of Celestial and Terrestrial Union and the Hall of Earthly Tranquility. There are also many other palaces, halls, archways and the imperial garden a detailed tour of which would take an entire day. Nevertheless, do not be discouraged – the Imperial palace is something worth seeing. Because of its extraordinary cultural value, in 1987 the complex of the Forbidden City was included on the UNESCO World Heritage List and is protected by this organization.

The Temple of Heaven

Besides the Forbidden City and Tiananmen, one of the most important historical sights and recognizable symbols of Beijing is the Temple of Heaven (Tiantan) dating from the 15th century. Rulers from the Ming and Qing dynasties would visit it three times a year to bring a sacrifice and ensure a good harvest, general well-being and forgiveness of sins.

The complex will enthuse anyone interested in numbers, symbolism and acoustics. The Circular Altar (Yuan Qiu) which is five meters tall, served the emperors as a sacrifice spot. It consists of three marble rings which represent Hell, Earth and Heaven. The odd numbers were considered to be divine. The number nine had a special place among them as the biggest single-digit odd number. If you count anything at the Altar, whether it is the stairs, balustrades or flagstones, the sum will always be nine or a multiple of nine. At the center of the Altar is the circular Heaven Heart Stone surrounded by 81 stones. If you stand at the stone, and say something out loud, your voice will come back as a clear and much louder echo, thanks to the stone balustrades.

The most important ceremony was held some time before the Winter Solstice, when the emperor would visit The Imperial Vault of Heaven, a circular construction that looks like an umbrella. It is surrounded by the Echo wall. If you say something as quiet as you can at one end of the wall, the person standing at the opposite end of it will hear you loud and clear. Near the wall is the oldest cypress in the city that is said to be approximately thousand years old.

Inside The Hall of Annual Prayer (Qinian Dian) people prayed for a good harvest. It is a circular building supported by 28 pillars which symbolically divide it into 4 seasons, 12 months and 12 parts of day and night. In 1889, the Hall burned to the ground. It was erected again the following year, and it is interesting that the new supporting pillars originate from Oregon. The best time of day to visit it is early in the morning when there are almost no visitors at all, and those who are there are mostly elderly people who came to relax or practice tai chi.

The Summer Palace

The Summer Palace which was built in 1750 is located a little bit outside the center of the city, next to the Kunming lake. It was destroyed during the Second Opium War, together with

the Great park. In 1888, the famous empress of the Qing dynasty, Dowager Cixi decided to build a palace at this place using the money that was earmarked for the modernization of the navy. The reconstruction took more than ten years and almost immediately after it was finished, the Palace was seriously damaged in the so-called Boxer Rebellion of 1900. To fix up the Palace appropriately, the empress Cixi once again used state funds and rebuilt it again. It was her home, the place where she lived in luxury, ruled the country until ripe age, organized magnificent parties and even imprisoned her husband. Despite all of the attacks, the Palace survived and it was restored every time, and today it stands as a beautiful exemplar of imperial architecture. It is hard to single out any one thing because the entire space makes up a harmonious whole – the parks, temples, halls, steep stairs carved in the rock, the lakes, the bridges, the colorful imperial market.

Parks – the green heart of the city

If you want to get away from the streets and enjoy some peace, you should head to one of Beijing's parks. The city abounds in green oases and it won't be hard to find one of them. West from the Forbidden City, on the shore of the lake Beihai is an 800 year old park that bears the same name. Allegedly, it was the residency of Kublai Khan but all that is left of what used to be a great court is a bowl made of green jade dating from 1265 in the so-called Circular City. What is also special is the white jade statue of Buddha in the Chengguang Hall, as well as the Nine-Dragon Screen. As soon as you cross the bridge that connects the mainland and the island, you will find yourself in front of the Temple of Eternal Peace (Yongan). Passing through it you will get to the White Dagoba Temple, an edifice which dominates the entire island and the park. During the mornings in the park you can watch calligraphers dipping their thick brushes into water and illustrating paths using their symbols, or you can join the small groups that dance or practice tai chi.

Peking Duck

Since many hours of wandering the streets can wear you down, eventually you will want to eat something, but it is not easy to satisfy hunger in Beijing. If you want to avoid the sneers of the waiters and guests sitting at the next table, you should definitely master the skill of using chopsticks before travelling to China. Do not think that supermarkets and sandwiches will save you. The groceries that represent the standard offer in our stores, such as cheese, spreads, various salami or bread are hard to find in their supermarkets. Nevertheless, they all seem to specialize in thousands of sweets and candies of various flavours. Experimenting with street food or in the restaurants might be more exciting than climbing the Great Wall of China. What you should hope for when entering a restaurant, if you don't know how to read the Chinese script, is a menu with photos of the food they offer. Such menus can be found in many restaurants, while small restaurants in the neighbourhoods that are not used to tourists do not have them. The food looks attractive and interesting, it is exotic and mostly very spicy. Allow yourself to experiment because most of the dishes are very tasty, and the servings are plentiful. The restaurants open between 10 and 11 a.m. and their prices are fair. Of course, there are also expensive restaurants that charge, along with food, for their crystal chandeliers and the large number of waiters.

You will probably wish to try the famous Peking duck, one of the symbols of this city. The recipe was devised by one of the imperial chefs of the Ming dynasty, and it later became known outside the imperial dining rooms. The first restaurant specialized in duck was opened in 1864. Preparing the duck is a complicated procedure that demands skill and time. When the duck is ready, the chef will invite you to see it before he carves it. The duck arrives at the table carved into 120 little pieces, including its head with the beak. As a sidedish, you will get a thin, round, white dough, sliced spring onions, soy sauce and cucumbers. Then, a strictly regulated ritual follows: you dip a piece of meat into the soy sauce, put it on the dough, add a

piece or two of onion, roll it like a pancake and bring it to your mouth using your fingers. Of course, you repeat this procedure for each and every bite.

If you want to try street food, just go ahead! The best place for that are the open stands at the Night Market near the Wangfujing street, which open around 4 p.m. This place is very popular, crowded, and when the night comes, it is illuminated by red lanterns. Here you can find a wide selection of food: various soups, noodles in spicy sauce, kebab, chicken hearts, tofu, clamshells, shrimps, salads, skewered roasted centipedes, scorpions, squids, octopus, snakes and much more. For dessert you can have skewered halved pineapples, kiwi, strawberries, papaya and melons. When it comes to drinks, beer is very popular and cheap, as well as Douzhi, a beverage made of yoghurt and soy. Tea is already well known as one of the symbols of China. Besides the three most famous kinds of tea (green, black and Wulong), jasmine tea is becoming more and more popular.

Negotiating at the Silk Market

Beijing is a good place for shopping because it has many stores, shopping malls, department stores and markets. The stores open around 8 a.m. and close around 9 p.m. There you can find anything – from the cheapest goods and souvenirs to the exclusive designer goods. The prices in the stores are usually fixed. Nevertheless, even there you can ask for and get a discount.

The markets are a whole different story. You should know that the sellers target tourists. Therefore, the starting prices for goods are extremely high, but you can buy something for much less money by negotiating. Moreover, negotiating is an inevitable part of shopping. It is best to be prepared and arm yourself with patience. To lower the price of sneakers from the starting 300 yens to 70 (around 50 Croatian kuna) should not be a big problem. At the Silk Market, a very popular market, it is enough to just turn around, pretend that you are not interested and set out towards another stand. The goal of negotiating is to reach a price that

will make both sides happy. This market has a wide selection of sneakers and jeans of all brands, clothes for every taste, silk, cashmere pullovers, backpacks, bags, glasses, different types of jewelry, toys and other goods. Lolex watches (Rolex) can be bought for a ridiculously low price.

One of the most respected markets is Dashilar which has existed for approximately 400 years. During the Qing dynasty, many specialized stores were opened here, and some of them still work nowadays. For those looking for original souvenirs, there is the Panijauyan market. It is open on weekends and it specializes in handmade products and antiques, but you have to be an expert to distinguish fake products from the originals. Designer goods can be bought in the Wanfujing street and at the Oriental Plaza shopping center. The city really abounds in markets and stores and it is worth to wander around it and find out what you can buy and at which price.

The city that changes its appearance

Beijing has gone through many changes during the last twenty years. The city is eagerly growing, bursting with energy and plenty of capital. The city that is ready to rule the global political, economic and cultural scene is opening in front of the growing number of tourists and foreign investors. The dawning of a new age can be seen everywhere. Modern skyscrapers, business centers, video screens, worldwide famous shops, night clubs, bars, modern galleries are just a part of everything that has appeared almost over night, in what has until recently been, a dull and sterile city. The older generations are having a hard time getting accustomed to such rapid and big changes, while the younger ones seem to have accepted the new rules. Young people follow the latest fashion, MTV, the alternative scene is getting more and more popular, while higher education is seen as a ticket to a better future. Of course, there is always another side to it. Corruption and censorship of the media are some of the bigger

reasons for overall dissatisfaction with the state policy. Hundreds of people are coming to Beijing in search of a job and a better life, but since there are not enough jobs for all of them, unemployment is a great concern. Huge number of cars and heavy industry have made it hard to breathe in Beijing, and pollution is worse than ever. Being the host of the Olympic games was a good incentive for the government to make changes. Entire neighbourhoods and streets are being destroyed, the residents are mass emigrating and new, modern residential and commercial buildings are taking their places. The city that is blinded with growth might not see how much damage they are doing to the cultural and historical identity. Although it is rapidly changing its appearance as the result of the emergent globalisation, Beijing has managed to keep its authentic spirit of ancient Chinese culture and art, as well as its traditional style of life thanks to its numerous palaces, halls, well tended parks and picturesque museums. Existing at the same time as this archaic spirit in Beijing, is also a completely new, modern and unconstrained spirit borne by the pro-western winds. It is exactly this symbiosis and close interweaving of these two poles of the present-day Beijing which make this city interesting for every visitor, no matter what his professional or tourist affinities are.

3.3. Commentary and analysis

The first problem with this text was finding the proper terms in English for buildings and sights in Beijing mentioned in the text – such as „The Forbidden City“, „The Temple of Heaven“, „The Hall of Annual Prayer“, „The Imperial Vault of Heaven“ etc.

In the sentence „...iako su se u novije vrijeme tu ugnijezdili i dućani sa suvenirima, restorani i podružnice Starbucks.“, the word „ugnijezdili“ was difficult to translate. Of course, the direct translation was not an option and in the end I used the translation „notwithstanding the

souvenir shops, restaurants and branches of Starbucks that have sprung around it lately.“

Furthermore, there are also a few terms from the field of architecture whose meanings I had to double check to make sure I was using the proper one – such as arches, archways, hallways, palaces, halls, balustrades etc. Similarly, I had to check how to translate some historical terms such as Opium wars and Boxer Rebellion.

In the sentence „To je bio njezin dom u kojem je raskošno živjela, vladala zemljom do duboke starosti, priređivala veličanstvene zabave te u njoj čak zatvorila svoga supruga.“ the word „zatvorila“ could be translated in several ways – captured, detained, confined... I used the word „imprison“ because I think it is the best solution in this context. Similarly, in the sentence „Restorani se otvaraju oko 10 ili 11 sati i cijene su prihvatljive“ rather than translating „prihvatljive“ directly as „acceptable or reasonable“ I opted for the term „fair“. In the sentence „dio onoga što se pojavilo gotovo preko noći u donedavno sivom i sterilnom gradu.“ I did not translate the word „sivom“ as „grey“ but rather as „dull“ which emphasises the source text meaning.

In some sentences I had to reverse the word order to make them appropriate. Translating them using the same order as in the source language would make them sound strange and hard to understand. An example of this is: „Peking je u svojim brojnim palačama i hramovima, brižno njegovanim parkovima i slikovitim muzejima uspio sačuvati autentični duh drevne kineske kulture i umjetnosti, kao i tradicionalnog stila života.“ which I translated as: „Beijing has managed to keep its authentic spirit of ancient Chinese culture and art, as well as its traditional style of life thanks to its numerous palaces, halls, well tended parks and picturesque museums.“

There were some collocations which I did not immediately remember so I had to check them so I would not make a mistake in sentences such as „Restaurirana je mnogo puta, ali je i do

danas uglavnom zadržala izvorni izgled“ where I first thought of writing „the original appearance has been kept“ but then found the proper translation – „the original appearance has been conserved“.

There were some changes I had to make in order to preserve the original meaning in sentences such as „Zabranjeni grad danas teško da ima pravo na ime koje nosi.“ I could not translate it directly and convey the intended meaning, therefore I translated it as „Nowadays, the Forbidden City is not forbidden anymore.“ Similarly, there were some expressions such as „obični smrtnici“ whose meanings I could not translate in a way they would preserve the intended meaning, so I decided to leave it as „ordinary people“. Furthermore, in some sentences I have decided to leave some parts out of the translation because these omissions make the translation sound better. An example is „Već u trenutku kada bi se car pojavio, cijeli bi dvor morao čelom devet puta dodirnuti pod“ where I left out the word „već“ and translated it as „At the moment when the emperor would appear...“. I did the same thing in the sentence „. Možda je najljepše u njega doći rano ujutro kada gotovo i nema posjetitelja, a oni malobrojni su uglavnom stariji ljudi koji se opuštaju ili vježbaju tai chi.“ where I left out the part „Možda“ and translated it as „The best time of day to visit it is early in the morning...“.

One of the most complicated phrases in this text was „carski vrt za čiji biste imalo pažljiviji obilazak trebali odvojiti cijeli dan“. I was not sure what the best solution would be. After trying a few of them such as „imperial garden whose tour with little attention would take an entire day“, I have decided that the best translation is: „imperial garden a detailed tour of which would take an entire day.“

In conclusion, this text was very interesting because its subject is close to my personal affinities which made the translation process a lot easier. Nevertheless, its many cultural and historical terms made the translating that much harder because I had to do a lot of double

checking of different terms and their meanings in Croatian to make sure I was using the proper terms in English.

4. TRANSLATION OF AN ARTICLE FROM THE FIELD OF SOCIAL STUDIES

4.1. Introduction

The last article I have chosen to translate is from the field of social studies. It was published in a Croatian daily newspaper Jutarnji List which is the third most popular daily newspaper in Croatia (after 24 sata and Večernji list). It is also published as an online portal. It comes out in five different versions for five different regions in Croatia. The article I have translated is a social study on the change in the life of Croats during the past 80 years – as its title suggests. It follows the lives of a few individuals in Croatia and their families and careers. It was written by Patricia Kiš and published on 21st of August 2016.

4.2. Translation

What has changed in the life of Croats during the past 80 years: How people live – a report on inactivity

During the 1930s, Rudolf Bićanić visited different places in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina and recorded conversations with local residents. The outcome was an extraordinary sociological and economic study published in the book „How people live.“ Eighty years later, an artist, Kristina Leko, followed in Bićanić's footsteps to describe how people live – 80 years later.

There is one basic fact you need to know to understand the economic life of depressed areas: the specter of hunger constantly hovers over these areas, Rudolf Bićanić (an economist, sociologist, politician, doctor of law) wrote in his book titled „How people live. Life in the depressed areas“, which was published in 1936.

Bićanić visited places, mostly in hinterland, which are located in areas with unfavourable

geographic and climatic conditions. He traveled by train, and often even on foot, and recorded conversations with the local residents. The book examines the sociological aspects of quality of life in Hrvatsko Zagorje, Gorski Kotar, Lika and Dalmacija, among the mountain cattlemen in Primorje and Bosnia, Dalmatinska zagora, on the island of Brač, in the area of Neretva and Posavina.

Furthermore, in his book he wrote: „These are harsh words, but they are true: Three quarters of all Croats do not have a bed. When discussing the living standard, it is usually assumed that, besides other necessities of an individual, a bed is at least one of them. It is considered to be a basic necessity of human life. Nevertheless, looking at Croats overall, we have to say now that all those who have their own bed are actually privileged“.

He noted the conditions of life and socio-economic relations and supplemented the information with statistics, but he was primarily devoted to an individual man and the ideas of the people who live there about introducing changes for the better. He also wrote about the high mortality rate of children in Dalmatinska zagora, where, at that time, sixty percent of children under the age of five died. He wrote about how people had to travel six hours to get water, about the unequal relations between the farmers and „the gentlemen“. Many sentences from the book seem to be relevant even today, such as: „When it comes to the question of paying off his debts, a farmer does not look at it only as a chance to get into a new debt. Because of that, farmers do not only look to pay off their debts and credits with low interest rates, but demand that the entire credit system be reorganized.

Bićanić started writing the book after he got out of prison, where he was held for being Vladko Maček's collaborator, and where he was, as the book says, „lonely and separated from other people“.

Kristina Leko, an artist whose exhibition „How people live – a report on inactivity“ opens in

September in the Museum of Contemporary Art (Muzej Suvremene umjetnosti), explored how people live today, eighty years after Bićanić's book was first published. Leko traveled to the same regions of Croatia and parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina and talked to people and, in Bićanić's wake, noted the conditions of life.

According to Bićanić, how people live is something every person who wants to work in a civil service, needs to know. This committed artist who believes that „the obligation of an artist is to critically think about the society“ has until now dealt with topics such as milkmaids from Dolac (the biggest marketplace in Zagreb), refugees from Iraq, our women immigrants in New York... The first time she has dealt with Bićanić's work in the form of an art project was in the year of crisis, 2008, when she delivered a performance in which she read passages on debts from his book. She has kept returning to Bićanić, especially over the past three years which she has spent in the field, exploring how people live.

She explains that the book from the thirties is still very relevant today: „This study is the basis of social studies in Croatia, but also a literary work, and it should be read again nowadays. Bićanić believed that people know best what needs to be done to make their lives, and the lives of their community, better. After all, he ended up in prison because he had written critically about the economy of that time. In fact, he dealt with the demystification of economic theory then, in the thirties, which is nowadays relevant again – to mention just the French economist Thomas Piketty, as well as former Greek minister of finance Janis Varufakis. That basic thought, that people know economy, is also the guiding principle of this exhibition.“

Kristina Leko, who lives with her husband, an American artist David Smithson (who is actually the author of this exhibition) and their son in Berlin, where she works as an assistant professor at the Academy of Arts, says that the motivation for the exhibition has partially

come out of her personal frustration: „In a way, I was kicked out of the country, like many other people who have left feeling discouraged during the past few years. They talk about an economic migration, but it is actually a new, political migration and emigration, similar to what happened in the '70's. But they do not talk about it as much as they should“. And her personal story is as follows: „I have competed for the job at the Academy of Arts in Zagreb three times and each of these was an irregular competition. I have also competed in Berlin, I had no contacts that could help me get in, and there were eighty applicants.“

The exhibition at the Museum of Contemporary Art presents the lives of eight families from different regions of Croatia, so there will be eight units, each of them representing one of the local microeconomic communities. The floor plans of the houses of these families are drawn on the floor and organised in a way that turns the museum into an imaginary village. She has portrayed all families in photographs and drawings, talked to them, their families and neighbours. The exhibition will also present ten hours of video materials (in cooperation with Martina Semenčić), family items and furniture.

The artist herself explains that the central topic of the exhibition is „the diagnosis of passivity as a psychological category of a nation“, and goes on: „I have chosen families who work hard and fight for life and live in a relatively modest way in dormant areas from which a large number of people emigrate.“

How much can an exhibition change? „This is an exhibition that is not ashamed of its ambition to slowly change the world. A lot can be changed and accomplished precisely through discussion and if we take the time and think about what the other person is saying and how they are feeling.“

Depleted sea, pensioners who work for free, black market for meat, constant emigrations, war veterans and PTSD... How people live today does not sound so ideal, as Bićanić would say:

„People constantly whine, they say nothing can be changed; this consent to the not good and bad, this passivity has become a national psychological category. I believe in change because I have experience in life and work in countries in which change has taken place. This was the reason why my artistic organization has become part of the Zadruga za etično financiranje (an association for the growth of economy and networking of small companies and organizations), whose goal is to found an ethical bank. Within this association we will find companies we will work with, because, for example, we want many young people to visit the exhibition, to talk about the problems and the change in the Museum, and also, we want to make the exhibition free for young people.

She mentions her cooperation with Jasna Jakšić, the curator of the exhibition, as well as many other associates who had helped her in the field, doing the polls. In cooperation with the theatre director Anica Tomić, philosopher Ankica Čakardić and the art historian Kosjenka Laszlo Klemar, she has worked on the education of sixty guides who will moderate discussions with the audience at the exhibition.

„I want this to be an exhibition where you can actively think and talk. Why put so much effort into an exhibition made for some five hundred people who will come and leave in an hour without experiencing anything important. In cooperation with the Zadruga za etičko financiranje we want to take the exhibition to smaller regions next year and start discussion there.“

Besides Bićanić, the exhibition also draws upon Brecht's work: „I'm interested in Brecht's concept of active audience; in democratic societies the idea of an active unrepresentative museum is becoming stronger.“

The drawings, photographs and stories we bring are the works of the artist Kristina Leko.

The conversations with the Salapić family in Žabljak, Livno were extremely interesting and of

high quality. The conversation was inspired by Bićanić's book which I had given to the family as a gift a few months earlier. During my stay in Livno, two proposals for economic interventions, i.e. reforms crystallized.

Ljuban Salapić, the head of the family, formulated a proposal for a reform of public administration. His daughter, who has a degree in administrative law, and who was an intern in one of the public firms at that time, formulated a proposal mentioned in the previous post. This proposal is not a joke, it depicts a real mirroring of employment practices in the public institutions in the adjacent Bosnia, which is not so different from the one in Croatia.

Employment is generally not motivated by the job, i.e. work assignments, but is used to create structures, i.e. networks of political power through contacts. When I visited Vesna at her work place by chance, I noticed that not every worker had his own desk, a basic precondition for work. When I asked whether they were working on the procurement of desks, Vesna laughed. We don't need desks, she said. From this I could conclude the following: there is not enough space for the desks, nor are there enough jobs for so many people. Nor is the job what is important here. Zvone has created a brand of „Drniški pršut“ (Drniš prosciutto), and he has recently protected it as a special brand from Croatia, and Nevenka has worked her entire life as an English teacher in regional schools in the hinterlands of Šibenik and Split.

ZVONE MARIN, AN EXCERPT FROM BIOGRAPHY: When he came home from college, Zvone wanted to get a job at Mesopromet in Drniš (an agricultural and food industry with headquarters in Split), but he couldn't. He didn't have anyone who could help him get a job. He waited two years for a job and then accepted the position of a market inspector in Vrgorac in 1970. However, Vrgorac didn't even have a decent road. They gave Nevenka a position in a school. They gave them an apartment, too. Zvone was the most educated employee in the company. The head of the municipality he lived in assigned him some additional work for

extra pay. Zvone worked twelve to fifteen hours a day: he planned the municipal development, developed programmes, attracted investments. With the help of an interest-free loan that was meant to be spent on the reconstruction of Drniš after an earthquake they bought their first car and a sewing machine. By the end of the next year, Zvone applied for a job of an inspector in Šibenik. While working at this position, he would discover a load of economic crime, meet the businessmen from the area and learn how to run a firm. Three years passed and in 1974 they offered him a managerial position in Mesopromet Drniš, where he would stay for seven years. When he arrived, Mesopromet worked with 90 employees and produced three thousand prosciuttos. When he left, they had 300 workers and 70 thousand prosciuttos. Zvone knew that nothing can be done without investments and a good team. He never earned more than an average employee because you cannot have a good team if you are not all equal. To earn some additional money by working as a production technologist and a counselor was never a problem. Zvone found the capital to start prosciutto production and a farm. He studied closely all prosciutto production facilities in Italy, created a brand of Drniš prosciutto and had a poster and a sign made.

Tito would regularly take 300 prosciuttos to his boat Galeb and then gave them away to people all over the world. Zvone soon realised he should not show his profit. The administration of Mesopromet would always take a large part of their profit. As they could not continue this way, Zvone, with a team of workers, organized a referendum aiming to separate their production from the Mesopromet network. But the politics interfered and the referendum fell short of one vote. Zvone moved to Split with his family. The farm and prosciutto production were taken over by politically suitable people who ran them to the ground. For four years following 1981, Zvone worked as a manager in the DALBIH dairy in Split. With the help of the city authorities, he managed to reclaim the purchase of milk in Zagora. Split was lacking milk because the Herzegovinian dairy had taken over the

cooperators and redirected the milk to Mostar. Zvone says that the fight for the market was always nasty, especially the interference of politics. As a DALBIH manager, Zvone modernized the production of Livno cheese (traditional Croatian cheese from Livno) and created a label which is still in use today. He renovated the dairy in Knin and on Zrmanja he established a goat farm where he produced goat cheese, bred heifers and produced 5000 prosciuttos. He was the first to start the production of champignons in one of the Split tunnels, as well as the production of humus. Thanks to the German associates, he managed to export 30 thousand goats to the United Arab Emirates from the Split airport, transporting 750 goats on a plane at a time. The transport lasted for an entire week. Right after this success, they separated the goat farm from Mesopromet. But they never succeeded at exporting anything else again. Then they also separated the Livno cheese production facilities. It has always been like this, says Zvone. As soon as someone establishes a healthy production, the vultures arrive, take as much as they can and destroy everything. It was hard to resist the pressures of politics.

4.3. Commentary and analysis

In this text, the first problem was with the term „pasivni krajevi“ whose meaning I did not completely understand in Croatian. After some research, I found out that the English equivalent is „depressed areas“ which I then used in the translation.

The biggest problem while translating this text was that the structure of sentences in the Croatian language was very strange. I had difficulties understanding the meaning of sentences in Croatian, which led to difficulties while translating them into English. An example of such a sentence is the following: „Kad se raspravlja o životnom standardu, onda se obično smatra, da k neophodnoj potrebi života svakog pojedinca, spada u najmanju ruku, barem krevet. To se

računa u minimum udobnosti za čovječji život.“ Even though I understood its meaning, I found the structure of the sentence odd which is why the translation process was harder than for other texts. In the end I translated it as: „When discussing the living standard, it is usually assumed that, besides other necessities of an individual, a bed is at least one of them.“ Another example is the complex sentence: “Seljak na pitanje razduženja ne gleda samo kao na stvaranje prilika za novo zaduženje. Zbog toga ne traži seljaštvo samo razduženje i jeftine kredite, nego zahtijeva upravo reorganizaciju čitavog kreditnog sistema.” which I translated as „When it comes to the question of paying off his debts, a farmer does not look at it only as a chance to get into a new debt. Because of that, farmers do not only look to pay off their debts and credits with low interest rates, but demand that the entire credit system be reorganized.“

The term „na tragu Bićanića“ in the sentence „Leko putuje istim krajevima Hrvatske i dijelova BIH te razgovara s ljudima i na tragu Bićanića bilježi životne okolnosti“ could be translated as „following Bićanić's footsteps“ but I decided to use the phrase „in Bićanić's wake“ for a better effect.

The phrase „nisam imala nikakvih veza“ which is often used in Croatian is not so familiar in the English language. After a long search and a lot of thinking, I have opted for the simple translation such as „I had no contacts that could help me“ which explains the phrase in a simple way.

The next obstacle was the phrase „umjetničku organizaciju učlanila u Zadrugu za etičko financiranje“. The term „učlanila“ used for an organisation seemed unusual to me. After weighing many options such as „included in“, I translated it simply as „This was the reason why my artistic organization has become part of the Zadruga za etično financiranje“. Furthermore, since Zadruga za etično financiranje is not a common thing in English-speaking countries, I have put the explanation of this organization in the brackets (an association for the

growth of economy and networking of small companies and organizations). I did the same later in the text with terms such as Mesopromet.

Furthermore, the sentence „Osим na Bićanića, izložba se naime poziva i na Brehta“ was one of the sentences which took me the most time to translate. The term „poziva se na“ can be translated as „refers to, calls on...“ but none of these are accurate in this context. Therefore, I have translated it as „Besides Bićanić, the exhibition also draws upon Brecht's work“.

In the end, I had troubles translating cultural terms such as „drniški pršut“, „paški sir“, „pršutana“ etc. Since these terms are only familiar in our country and the countries close to us, I have decided to leave them in Croatian with explanations in the brackets. For an example, for Drniški pršut I wrote Drniš prosciutto. This way the cultural context is kept, as well as its meaning.

There were some sentences whose word order I had to change in order for them to make sense in English. An example of this is „Kako živi narod danas, osamdeset godina nakon prve Bićanićeve knjige, istražila je umjetnica Kristina Leko čija se izložba “Kako živi narod - izvještaj o pasivnosti” u rujnu otvara u Muzeju suvremene umjetnosti“ which I translated as Kristina Leko, an artist whose exhibition „How people live – a report on inactivity“ opens in September in the Museum of Contemporary Art (Muzej Suvremene umjetnosti), explored how people live today, eighty years after Bićanić's book was first published.“

Furthermore, the term „javni radnik“ in a sentence „Kako živi narod, treba znati svatko tko želi biti javni radnik, smatrao je Bićanić.“ I first translated as a „public worker“ but then I realised that „a person who wants to work in a civil service“ is a more appropriate translation.

There were some terms whose meanings I explained in brackets, such as Dolac (the biggest marketplace in Zagreb) which I think a foreign reader would not be familiar with at first.

There were some sentences in which I changed the structure of some terms, such as „U umjetničkom se kontekstu prvi put Bićanićevim radom pozabavila u godini krize 2008“ which I translated as „The first time she has dealt with Bićanić's work in the form of an art project was in the year of crisis, 2008“ rather than mistranslating it as „artistically dealt with Bićanić's work“.

In the sentence „Ta osnovna misao da ljudi sami znaju ekonomiju je i misao vodilja ove izložbe.” I first translated the term „misao vodilja“ as a „leading thought“ but in the end I decided to translate it as „guiding principle“ which is closer to the original.

There were some sentences in the original text which were structured as separate sentences such as: “Ovo je izložba koja se ne srami svoje ambicije da pomalo mijenja svijet. Puno se može promijeniti i ostvariti upravo kroz diskusiju. I ako ćemo si uzeti vremena i razmisliti što netko drugi govori i kako mu je.” I have decided that merging them into a single sentence makes more sense to the reader and therefore I translated it as: „This is an exhibition that is not ashamed of its ambition to slowly change the world. A lot can be changed and accomplished precisely through discussion and if we take the time and think about what the other person is saying and how they are feeling.“

One of the biggest problems with this text was that the entire excerpt on Zvone Marin was written in present tense in the original text. Writing in present tense in the English language would make this excerpt sound very strange. Therefore, I have shifted the entire excerpt into the past tense.

In spite of all these problems, I have found the text interesting.

5. CONCLUSION

At the very end of this translation, I have to conclude that translating is more difficult than it seems. I found it challenging, yet interesting. First, I had problems choosing the texts I would translate. It takes a lot of time to find an appropriate article that is structured well enough to be translated into another language. The biggest obstacle while finding the articles was that most of them, especially scientific ones, have already been translated into English.

The translating part was the most time-consuming part of writing this thesis. What struck me the most while translating the articles was that even the most familiar words that we use in everyday language are sometimes difficult to translate in a given context. Furthermore, one of the biggest problems was finding an appropriate collocation used with a certain word in a text in English. The first text, *Current migrations in Europe* seemed easy to translate at first. It contains a lot of statistics and scientific terms which were unfamiliar to me before, so I had to spend a lot of time searching for the appropriate translations. The second text, *Cystic fibrosis* was the one that was written using everyday language, in the form of a diary or a letter. Therefore, it was interesting to translate and read. The third text is the one on *Beijing*. I found this text the most engaging. I like reading about new places and people, and this text offers exactly this. It was also written very well, using simple and clear sentences. The text that I had the most difficulties with while translating is the last text, *What changed in life of Croats during the past 80 years*. The original text was written clumsily. Sentences that are hard to understand in your mother tongue are bound to create problems in another language. It also did not seem to be cohesive and clear.

While I was translating, I took notes of the problems that I have encountered. I found this notes useful while writing the analyses of the translations. I did not mention all the problems in the analyses, just the most important and difficult ones.

In the end, I came to the conclusion that translating is a time-consuming and difficult process. It takes a lot of patience and care to translate a text in an appropriate way. I think that I have managed to do my task and that I have translated all four texts successfully. I also think that this experience has helped me develop some strategies and knowledge of translating which I will certainly use in my future.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

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Suvremena migracijska kretanja u Europi

SAŽETAK

Uz kratak povijesni pregled migracija u Europi, članak se bavi suvremenim migracijskim kretanjima te njihovim posljedicama. Krajem pedesetih, zemlje Zapadne Europe počinju regrutirati radnu snagu iz nekoliko mediteranskih zemalja – Italije, Španjolske, Portugala i bivše Jugoslavije, kasnije iz Maroka, Alžira, Tunisa i Turske. Neke države kao što su Francuska, Velika Britanija i Nizozemska regrutiraju i radnike iz bivših kolonija. Godine 1970. najveći apsolutni broj stranaca imala je Njemacka (tri milijuna), pa Francuska, zatim Švicarska i Belgija; ukupno u Zapadnoj Europi nalazilo se dvanaest milijuna imigranata. Sedamdesete se masovna regrutacija strane radne snage obustavlja, dopušten je dolazak samo članovima obitelji, pa dolazi do tzv. objedinjavanja obitelji. Europa zatvara svoje granice, što opet dovodi do povećanja ilegalnih migracija. Godina 1989. prekretnica je u povijesti međunarodnih migracija. Političke promjene u Srednjoj i Istočnoj Europi otvorile su vrata masovnoj migraciji na Zapad te kulminirale takozvanim »masovnim pokretom 1989.–1990.«. Useljavanje etničkih Nijemaca u Njemačku, migracije unutar i izvan teritorija bivšeg Sovjetskog Saveza, povećanje broja tražitelja azila i zbog oružanih sukoba raseljene osobe bitno obilježavaju suvremene migracije, tvrdi se u članku. O uzrocima i posljedicama tog masovnog vala te o regularnoj radnoj migraciji koja je i dalje prisutna govori se u središnjem dijelu rada. Drugi dio članka, nakon iznošenja tipologije migracija, bavi se složenim

procesom koji je doveo do formiranja zajednica i pojave novih etničkih manjina te migracijskom politikom zapadnoeuropskih zemalja kao odgovorom na rastuće probleme.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: migracija, migracijska politika, Europska Unija, Schengenski sporazum

U usporedbi sa stanovništvom ostalih kontinenata, Europljani su najviše selili. Krajem Drugoga svjetskog rata većina je bila prisiljena migrirati, zbog mijenjanja državnih granica – posebno Njemačke, Poljske i bivše Čehoslovačke. Najveći migracijski pokret u ljudskoj povijesti dogodio se nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata, kada je u Zapadnu Europu ušlo oko petnaest milijuna ljudi. Neki su se nakon nekog vremena vratili u zemlju podrijetla, ali većina je ostala (Stalker, 2002: 152).

U kasnim četrdesetima i pedesetima došlo je i do prekomorske migracije. Tada je iz cijele Europe otišlo tri milijuna ljudi, a u Europu su ušli kolonisti iz bivših kolonija Velike Britanije, Francuske i Nizozemske, kao što su Indija, Alžir, Angola i Mozambik (Fassmann, Münz, 1994: 4).

Europa se nakon smirivanja poslijeratnih tokova rekonstruirala, budući da se u državama Zapadne Europe javlja manjak radne snage. Kao radna snaga najprije se regrutiraju ratom raseljene osobe. Neke zemlje regrutiraju radnike iz bivših kolonija,¹ a potom se dovodi radna snaga iz manje industrijaliziranih zemalja (Irske i Finske), iz nekoliko mediteranskih zemalja – Italije, Španjolske, Portugala i Grčke, te kasnije iz bivše Jugoslavije, Maroka, Alžira, Tunisa i Turske (Fassmann, Münz, 1994: 7). Godine 1970. najveći apsolutni broj stranaca imala je Njemačka (tri milijuna), zatim Francuska, Švicarska i Belgija. Sedamdesete godine u Zapadnoj je Europi bilo dvanaest milijuna imigranata (Castles, 2000: 55).

Radnici su bili dobrodošli, ali pod uvjetom da je njihov boravak privremen i da ne dovode svoje obitelji. Nastaju imigrantske zajednice koje su smještene u najsiromašnijim područjima

industrijskog dijela grada. Tek potkraj šezdesetih godina postaje jasno da umjesto planirane privremene rotacije stanovništva dolazi do stalnijeg naseljavanja.

Sedamdesetih godina situacija se mijenja. Energetska kriza i međunarodna recesija dovode do promjene migracijske politike. Uvode se restriktivne imigracijske mjere. Masovna regrutacija strane, uglavnom nekvalificirane radne snage prestaje, ali je nastavljen, pa i pojačan, dotok stručnjaka. »Gastarbajterski« model zamijenjen je migracijama radi objedinjavanja obitelji u zemlji imigracije. U istom razdoblju tradicionalne emigracijske zemlje, Italija, Španjolska, Portugal i Grčka, mijenjaju karakter i postaju imigracijskim zemljama. Zapošljavaju radnu snagu iz Istočne Europe, Sjeverne Afrike i Azije; većina imigranata dolazi spontano i bez dokumenata. Tako su ilegalne migracije još jedna od posljedica zatvaranja granica 1973. godine.

Sredinom osamdesetih ponovno se mijenja migracijski obrazac: povećava se broj tražitelja azila u zapadnoeuropskim zemljama. Između 1985. i 1991. njihov se broj povećao za više od tri puta – od 192.000 na 661.000. Od toga broja 37% (245.000) bile su osobe iz bivših socijalističkih zemalja, na početku osamdesetih većinom iz Poljske, a kasnije iz Jugoslavije, Rumunjske, Albanije i Bugarske. Dosad najveći broj zahtjeva za azilom ikad zabilježen podnesen je upravo tijekom 1993. godine – 704.000 ljudi zatražilo je azil u Zapadnoj Europi. Većina tražitelja azila nalazi se u Njemačkoj – 95.000, zatim u Velikoj Britaniji – 88.000, pa Švicarskoj i Nizozemskoj. Najveći broj tražitelja azila dolazi s Kosova. Oni kojima je molba za azil odbijena uglavnom ostaju na ilegalnom tržištu rada (IOM, 2000: 196–197).

Godina 1989. prekretnica je u povijesti međunarodnih migracija.

Političke promjene u Srednjoj i Istočnoj Europi otvorile su vrata masovnoj migraciji na Zapad te kulminirale takozvanim »masovnim pokretom 1989.–1990.«. Do tada, osim povremenih migracijskih erupcija – 1956. iz Mađarske, 1968. iz Čehoslovačke i 1981. iz Poljske, kada iz

svake zemlje odlazi po 200.000 ljudi – nije bilo značajnijega kretanja stanovništva (Zlatkovis Winter, 1997: 112).

Samo je 1989. više od 1,3 milijuna ljudi emigriralo iz zemalja članica bivšega Varšavskog pakta.² Uzrok tome, osim novostečene slobode, bile su rastuće ekonomske, političke, socijalne i etničke tenzije koje su ubrzale migracije Istok – Zapad, kao i unutarnje migracijske tokove. Godina 1989. označila je kraj jednog razdoblja u povijesti međunarodnih migracija u Europi.

Populacija koja je bila u najvećoj mjeri zahvaćena etnički motiviranim migracijama (»koetničkim migracijama«) bila je sastavljena od pripadnika nacionalnih manjina: Nijemaca, Židova, Grka. U Njemačku ulaze većinom etnički Njemci iz SSSR-a, Poljske, Rumunjske i drugih istočnoeuropskih zemalja. Godine 1990. u Njemačku je ušlo 340.000 Nijemaca iz Istočne Njemačke i 397.000 etničkih Nijemaca iz drugih zemalja (148.000 iz Sovjetskog Saveza, 134.000 iz Poljske, 111.150 iz Rumunjske). Migriraju i Mađari (iz Rumunjske i Slovačke), Poljaci (iz Ukrajine, Kazahstana i Sibira), te Rusi (iz baltičkih država). Između 1987. i 1991. Sovjetski Savez napustilo je više od 308.000 Židova, od čega 291.000. u razdoblju 1990.–1991. I drugi sele: 1989. godine iz Bugarske je za Tursku otišlo 370.000 Turaka (Zlatkovis Winter, 1997: 113).

Osim etničkih migracija u matične zemlje, »humanitarne« – prisilne migracije – preplavljuju Europu. Izbjeglice, prognanici, ratom raseljene osobe i tražitelji azila čine osnovni migracijski kontingent u devedesetim godinama. Izbjeglice uglavnom pristižu u sklopu vladinih programa kroz pregovore s međunarodnim organizacijama, dok azilanti zahtijevaju izbjeglički status – ili na granici ili kada su već u zemlji u kojoj traže status.

Najmnogobrojnije migracije prouzročili su ratovi u bivšoj Jugoslaviji. Broj prognanika i izbjeglica s područja bivše Jugoslavije povećao se sa 2,6 na 4,6 milijuna između listopada

1992. i travnja 1993. Od početka rata (1991.) do 1998. više od milijun ljudi s područja bivše Jugoslavije izbjeglo je u Zapadnu Europu: 600.000 iz Bosne i Hercegovine i 400.000 iz Hrvatske i ostalih zemalja bivše Jugoslavije. Najveći broj izbjeglica (200.000 iz Bosne i Hercegovine, 35.000 iz Hrvatske) prihvatila je Njemačka (IOM, 2000: 175). Godine 1998. dolazi do masovnog emigriranja s Kosova. Od 400.000 raseljenih ljudi, 90.000 zatražilo je azil u Zapadnoj i Srednjoj Europi, dok su se ostali na preporuku UNHCR-a do kraja 2000. godine vratili (IOM, 2000: 174; SOPEMI, 2001: 22).

Od republika bivšega Sovjetskog Saveza, prema podacima iz svibnja 1993., najviše izbjeglica nalazi se u Azerbejdžanu (više od 546.000). Njih 200.000 izbjeglo je iz Armenije, dok je 295.000 prognano iz Nagorno Karabakha i drugih dijelova Azerbejdžana koji graniče s Armenijom (UNHCR, 1995: 24).

Istodobno se države Istočne i Srednje Europe (Poljska, Češka i Mađarska) suočavaju s novim fenomenom: radnim migracijama, legalnim i ilegalnim, iz drugih zemalja Istočne Europe i zemalja bivšeg SSSR-a, kao i s tražiteljima azila iz Trećeg svijeta. U relativno kratku vremenu, Mađarska je postala zemlja koja je od potencijalnog izvora emigracija prerasla u tipičnu »zemlju prvog azila« ili tranzitnu zemlju za migrante iz manje razvijenih zemalja koji žele ilegalno prijeći u Zapadnu Europu. Iako se, kako se predviđalo, masovna migracija s Istoka na Zapad nije dogodila, ipak je 2,5 milijuna ljudi u prvoj polovici devedesetih godina prešlo iz bivšeg Sovjetskog Saveza te srednjoeuropskih i istočnoeuropskih zemalja (IOM, 2000: 171).

Useljavanje etničkih Nijemaca u Njemačku, migracije unutar i izvan teritorija bivšega Sovjetskog Saveza, povećanje broja tražitelja azila i zbog oružanih sukoba raseljene osobe bitno obilježavaju migracije u devedesetim godinama 20. stoljeća.

Od 1997. godine uočava se pojava novih trendova. Uz i dalje prisutne imigracije azilanata, ilegalne migracije također postaju rastućim problemom, posebno u imigracijskim zemljama Mediterana – Italiji, Španjolskoj, Portugalu i Grčkoj. Za Europu u cjelini, njihov se broj procjenjuje na 2–3 milijuna, što iznosi oko 10–15% ukupne populacije stranih državljana (IOM, 2000; Appleyard, 2001: 27).³

Obrazac regularne radne migracije razlikuje se od onoga koji je bio prisutan u prijašnjim desetljećima. Potreba za kvalificiranom radnom snagom sve je veća, pa se izdaju privremene radne dozvole na pet godina, koje se mogu obnavljati. Uzrok te pojave sve je veći razvoj novih tehnologija. Manjak radne snage osjeća se u informacijskom i komunikacijskom sektoru. Istodobno, starenje populacije u zemljama članicama Europske unije stvorilo je potrebu za pomoćnim poslovima u kući, te za poslovima unutar zdravstva i obrazovanja. Uz regularnu radnu migraciju, migracija radi objedinjavanja obitelji i dalje je prisutna (SOPEMI, 2001; IOM, 2000).

Migranti dolaze, bez obzira radi li se o objedinjavanju obitelji, kvalificiranom ili nekvalificiranom radu, legalnoj ili ilegalnoj migraciji, privremenoj ili trajnoj, sa svih kontinenata i gotovo iz svake zemlje. Zemlje podrijetla imigranata sve su raznolikije, povećava se broj narodnosti u zapadnoeuropskim zemljama. U petnaest zemalja članica EU danas živi osamnaest milijuna imigranata (od oko 375 milijuna njihovih stanovnika).⁴

Najveći priljev imigranata još imaju Nizozemska, Njemačka i Švedska, dok je udio stranih državljana u stanovništvu i dalje najveći u Švicarskoj, Belgiji te Njemačkoj.

Sve suverene države zadržavaju pravo određivanja boravka i kretanja stranih državljana. To pravo utemeljeno je u zakonima ili administrativnim mjerama i razlikuje tipove boravka stranih državljana. Tipologije migracija ovise o kriterijima na osnovi kojih su izvršene analize. To su: kriterij državnih granica, kriterij trajanja migracija (stalne i privremene),

kriterij dobrovoljnosti (dobrovoljne i prisilne), kriterij organiziranosti (organizirane i stihijske) i kriterij uzroka (motiva) migracija.

Sveobuhvatna klasifikacija dijeli migracije na dobrovoljne i nedobrovoljne (prisilne). Ona se odnosi i na vanjske i na unutarnje migracije. Razlog dobrovoljnih migracija jest traženje posla, objedinjavanje obitelji ili drugi osobni razlozi, dok je kod prisilnih migracija uzrok odlaska protjerivanje, sukob, represija, ekološka katastrofa ili druge situacije koje ugrožavaju život i slobodu.

Kombinirajući kriterij razdaljine (kratka i duga razdaljina) i kriterij trajanja (dugoročne te periodične ili sezonske) dobivamo osnovne tipove migranata: permanentni (naseljenici), privremeni radnici »na ugovor«, ilegalni radnici, tražitelji azila, izbjeglice (Mesis, 2002: 263).

Svaka zapadnoeuropska zemlja poseban je slučaj sa specifičnim povijesnim, demografskim, ekonomskim i socijalnim uvjetima koji su oblikovali obrasce migracije. Općenito govoreći, udio stranih državljana u zemljama primitka ovisi o migracijskoj tradiciji, mrežama koje su razvili već pridošli useljenici, perspektivi zapošljavanja na tržištu rada i geografskoj dostupnosti zemlje useljenja. Zato je pristup istraživanju migracija interdisciplinaran. Osnovni okvir analize ulazi u polje ekonomije, sociologije, geografije i demografije. Isto tako, nužno je konzultirati pravo, političke znanosti, povijest i kulturu.

Političke i ekonomske prilike uvjetovale su imigracijsku politiku koja je povratno djelovala na imigracijske tokove određujući obujam i strukturu migranata.

S obzirom da se odnos države prema strancima razlikuje prema tome kako ona karakterizira njihov boravak, koji se tretira ili kao trajno useljenje, ili privremena migracija, ili ovisno o tome radi li se o ekonomskom migrantu ili izbjeglici, mjere za uklapanje stranaca različite su ili ih nema. Isto tako, odnos države prema migrantima ovisi i o osobnim karakteristikama imigranta, kao što je obrazovna razina, znanje jezika, dob itd. Od klasičnih integracijskih

politika koje su uglavnom vodile getoizaciji stranaca, do suvremenih multikulturnih imigracijskih politika, mijenja se strategija odnosa prema strancima, kao i njezine implikacije.

U klasičnom rotacijskom sustavu migrant nije imao politička i socijalna prava i često mu nije bilo dopušteno dovođenje članova obitelji. Osim migranata koji su došli iz bivših kolonija Velike Britanije, Francuske i Nizozemske (koji dobivaju državljanstvo zemlje primitka), ostali imaju legalno pravo samo na privremeni boravak (Castles, 1984).

Migranti su dobivali poslove za koje nije bila potrebna kvalifikacija, koji su bili najmanje plaćeni i imali najlošije radne uvjete.

Nakon krize 1973. godine, obustavlja se masovna regrutacija radne snage. Uvode se restriktivne imigracijske mjere prema stranim radnicima. Te politike karakterizira naglašavanje prioriteta i zaštite interesa domaćih radnika, ograničavanje i smanjivanje broja stranih radnika, restriktivnost i selektivnost u zapošljavanju i istodobno pojačana nastojanja integracije i asimilacije radnika stranaca. Mnogi migranti dobivaju trajnu dozvolu boravka. Politika je poticala spajanje obitelji, na koju je gledala kao na jamstvo društvene stabilnosti i činilac boljeg uklapanja (integriranja) u društvo primitka.

Drugo i trećoj generaciji slabe veze sa zemljom podrijetla njihovih roditelja: budućnost im je u zemljama u kojima se tretiraju kao autsajderi.

Tako dolazi do pojave etničkih manjina u Zapadnoj Europi. Međutim, ne postaju svi imigranti pripadnicima etničke manjine. Za etničku je manjinu karakteristično određivanje prema podrijetlu ili kulturi te posjedovanje svijesti o pripadnosti skupini, koja se temelji na zajedničkom jeziku, tradiciji, religiji, povijesti i iskustvu (Castles, 2000: 63).

Dok je za visokoobrazovanu migraciju uglavnom karakteristična individualna integracija, manje obrazovani imigranti često doživljavaju diskriminaciju. Tako u Velikoj Britaniji nastaje strah od »obojenih geta«, u Francuskoj od »arapskog kvarta«, u Njemačkoj od »turskih

područja«. Milijuni ljudi migriraju preko državnih granica: neki to čine samo privremeno, međutim gotovo svaki migracijski tok vodi dugoročnom ili trajnom naseljavanju i nastanku etničkih manjina. Tako etničke manjine shvaćamo i kao jedan od rezultata politike masovnog regrutiranja radnika migranata.

U novije doba integracija se definira kao uspješan dostup socijalnim i kulturnim institucijama države primitka. Dostup uključuje organiziranje i samoorganiziranje, posebno na poljima pravne i političke participacije, obrazovanja, zdravstva, stanovanja i slobodnog vremena. Neke zemlje, kao što su Njemačka, Velika Britanija i Švedska, novopridošle imigrante razmještaju ravnomjerno unutar cijele zemlje, međutim učinak te politike ograničen je s obzirom da se radi samo o novim imigrantima i nema utjecaja na populaciju imigranata koja je već ondje nastanjena.

Termin multikultura sve se više upotrebljava da bi se označila kulturna raznolikost suvremenih društava koja je dijelom i rezultat migracijskih kretanja.

Multikulturalizam također sadrži jamstva manjinskih kulturnih i lingvističkih prava. Cilj multikulturalizma jest zahtjev za punim političkim, ekonomskim i socijalnim uključivanjem svih članova društva, bez obzira na etničko podrijetlo. Njegove mjere također uključuju borbu protiv diskriminacije i zalaganje za osiguravanje jednakih mogućnosti na svim područjima. Zasad to nije uspostavljeno, nego se postavlja kao zahtjev za fer i humanom imigracijskom politikom i prepoznavanjem prava imigranata i etničkih manjina unutar multikulturnih društava. Istodobno, teoretičari migracija zalažu se za istraživanja kompleksne političke relacije unutar, između i preko nacionalnih država, kako bi pronašli ključni mehanizam socijalne promjene i primijenili ga izravno na iskustvo određenih pojedinaca (Mitchell, 1989).

Schengenskim sporazumom ukinute su granice između zemalja EU, pa se sve veće značenje pridaje vanjskim granicama. Uspostavljaju se zajedničke migracijske mjere prema

imigrantima iz zemalja izvan EU, kao što su zajednička pravila za vizni režim, zajednička politika prema azilantima, vanjska granična kontrola.

Kako vidimo, imigracijska politika zemalja useljavanja se mijenja, od liberalne pedesetih i šezdesetih godina, preko restriktivne od sedamdesetih. Ujedinjavanjem Europe dolazi do zajedničke brige članica EU oko svojih vanjskih granica. Istodobno se kao rezultat potreba za radnom snagom i niske stope nataliteta u EU predviđa povećanje imigracije u EU.⁷ Pomicanje granica proširenjem Unije neće riješiti te probleme. Čini se da jedina prava rješenja leže u dugoročnim političkim strategijama usmjerenima na to da se nejednakost u bogatstvu i stabilnosti među svim zemljama na svijetu umani i dopusti sve više zakonitoga useljavanja u EU. Kratkoročno, očekuje se migracija iz Istočne Europe uzrokovana povećanjem EU, ali dugoročno migracija će biti veća iz manje razvijenih zemalja.

Source:

Zlatković Winter, J. (2004). Suvremena migracijska kretanja u Europi. *Migracijske i etničke teme* 20 (2-3), p. 161-170. Retrieved from:

http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id_clanak_jezik=10945&lang=hr

Appendix B

Matea ima užasno rijetku bolest; doktori kažu da će živjeti još desetak godina. Ovo je njezin dnevnik

Imam 22 godine i bolujem od cistične fibroze. U medicinskim knjigama piše da ću živjeti još osam do deset godina života. Očekivana životna dob oboljelih od cistične fibroze je oko 30 godina. Odbijam razmišljati na takav način. Vjerujem u napredak medicine, sigurna sam da će otkriti lijek. Pojavit će se rješenje.

Nazvat će me moj doktor iz Zagreba i reći da se pojavio lijek. Naravno da ponekad ipak pomislim na smrt. To se događa vrlo rijetko, najčešće prije spavanja. Ležim u krevetu i razmišljam o svome odlasku. Ne razmišljam hoće li smrt biti bolna, ne zamišljam nikakva svjetla i tunele. Mislim samo na ljude koje ću ostaviti za sobom. Nije pravedno da kći umre prije roditelja.

Ne mogu podnijeti činjenicu da će zbog mene netko biti tužan. Rodila sam se 1994. godine u Livnu. Odmah nakon poroda doktori su konstatirali da se sa mnom događa nešto neobično, pa me hitna odvezla u Split. U sljedeća tri mjeseca stanje mi se pogoršavalo, ali nitko nije znao postaviti dijagnozu. Teško sam disala, imala sam rijetke stolice i često sam povraćala.

Napokon se jedan liječnik dosjetio da bih mogla izvaditi kloride u znoju, odnosno obaviti pretragu kojom se dokazuje cistična fibroza. Nalazi su potvrdili da imam rijetku bolest, od koje u Hrvatskoj boluje još sto ljudi. Cistična fibroza nastaje prilikom začeća. Bolest remeti funkciju disanja i izaziva poremećaj u crijevima i jetri. Oboljeli od cistične fibroze ne smiju se izlagati bakterijama. Moraju izbjegavati gužve i dezinficirati predmete oko sebe.

Probavni problemi se rješavaju lijekovima, pravilnom prehranom i redovitom uzimanjem vitamina, dok kronična plućna bolest najčešće izaziva ozbiljne zdravstvene tegobe. Doktor nije bio nimalo empatičan. Mami je rekao: “Gospođo, od ove bebe neće biti ništa. Bilo bi dobro da što prije krenete na drugo dijete”. Mama je odgovorila kako od mene nikada neće odustati. Sljedećih godinu dana provela sam u bolnici, a mama je cijele dane sjedila uz moj kinderbet. Bila sam katastrofalno.

Nisam mogla samostalno disati. Hranili su me kroz sondu. Prvi put sam skoro umrla kada sam imala šest mjeseci. Nisam mogla disati. Mama mi je doslovce spasila život. Sljedećih 48 sati držala me u naručju i konstantno tresla. Moja pluća su napokon profunkcionirala. Nedugo

nakon ovog groznog incidenta krstili su me u bolnici. Moji roditelji bojali su se da bih ponovno mogla upasti u slično stanje, a nisu htjeli da umrem nekrštena.

Iz bolnice sam izašla nedugo nakon prvog rođendana, odnosno tek kada su doktori bili sigurni da sam naučila samostalno disati. Mama je prilikom otpusta dobila detaljne upute. Dva puta dnevno morala me je inhalirati i davati mi tablete za probavu i jetru. Sjećam se kako me je kao malenu djevojčicu često bolio trbuh. Dugo nisam shvaćala da sam bolesna. Vjerovala sam kako sva djeca piju tablete, da je to rutina, kao što se dva puta dnevno peru zubi.

Krenula sam u školu. I dalje sam se redovito inhalirala i gutala tablete. Sjećam se kako mi je mama pri izlasku iz stana često govorila: “Molim te zakopčaj jaknu. Znaš da se ne smiješ prehladiti”. Nisam je shvaćala ozbiljno. Ponašala se kao ostale mame koje konstantno trče za svojom djecom, guraju im potkošulje u trenirke, navlače kape na glavu i kopčaju jakne. Kasnije sam shvatila zbog čega je moja mama bila posebno oprezna.

Ljudi s cističnom fibrozom moraju izbjegavati prehlade i viroze koje mogu uzrokovati upalu pluća. Naime, upala pluća kod nas može biti smrtonosna. Sjećam se kako je bol u trbuhu u školi postala sve intenzivnija. Zamolila sam učiteljicu da me pusti na wc. Tamo bih se zadržala jako dugo, ponekad i sat vremena. Na povratku mi je bilo jako neugodno. Djeca su se sigurno pitala što sam tako dugo radila na wc-u. Nikome nisam priznala kako sam cijelo vrijeme sjedila na dasci i savijala se od nesusnih bolova.

Kasnije, kada su grčevi u trbuhu postali redoviti, najčešće bih ostala sjediti za klupom. Pravila sam se kao da sam okej. Trudila sam se da ničime ne otkrijem kako me boli, ali baš stravično boli. Ponekad bih zamolila učiteljicu da me pusti kući. Ona bi samo kimnula glavom. Nije me ništa pitala. Ona je jedina znala da imam cističnu fibrozu. S mamom sam uvijek iskreno pričala o bolesti. Jednom mi je rekla mi je da ću biti dobro sve dok redovito uzimam terapiju.

Objasnila mi je kako terapija mora postati standardni dio mog života. Mama mi je uvijek govorila da je bolest neizlječiva, ali ja sam očito bila premala da shvatim značenje te riječi. U šestom razredu osnovne škole postala sam svjesna kako druga djeca ne piju svakodnevno tablete. Bila sam kod nekoliko prijateljica. Ni jedna u stanu nije imala inhalator. Prijatelji su me sve češće ispitivali kako to da me stalno boli trbuh. “Nemam pojma”, odgovorila sam.

Shvatila sam da očito postoji neki ozbiljan razlog zašto nikada nisam vježbala tjelesni. Uvijek sam sjedila na klupi i promatrala prijatelje kako trče ispred mene. Odlučila sam se povjeriti najboljoj prijateljici Ivani. Rekla sam joj da imam neku čudnu bolest zbog koje moram svaki dan gutati šaku tableta. U njezinom pogledu sam primijetila da joj je žao. Nedugo nakon toga zaglavila sam u bolnici. Zaradila sam upalu pluća. Danima sam imala visoku temperaturu.

Bila sam životno ugrožena. Doktori su se doslovno borili za moj život. Mislim da sam tek tada shvatila da je moja bolest ozbiljnija nego što sam mislila. U drugom razredu srednje škole dobila sam još dvije dijagnoze: artritis i osteoporoza. Jedan doktor mi je objasnio da cistična fibroza ugrožava moje kosti. Vratila sam se kući i sjela za kompjuter. Tada sam prvi puta ukucala naziv svoje bolesti. Otvorio se velik broj linkova.

Pročitala sam hrpu poznatih stvari. Bolest je nasljedna, ugrožava probavni i respiratorni sustav, liječi se simptomatski. Na kraju teksta pisalo je kako oboljeli ne mogu imati djecu i žive tridesetak godina. Najviše me pogodila prva informacija. Oduvijek sam htjela imati bebu. Osjećala sam se grozno. Sjela sam kraj mame na kauč i ispričala joj što sam saznala. “Draga moja, pa nisi saznala ništa novo. Sve to odavno znamo”, objasnila mi je.

Počela sam se intenzivno vraćati u prošlost. Mama je bila u pravu. Znala sam da imam neizlječivu bolest. Neizlječivu. Dakle, bolest za koju ne postoji lijek, bolest od koje se umire. Kao da sam tu informaciju tek tada do kraja percipirala. Mama me je počela tješiti. Govorila

mi je kako medicina napreduje i da moram imati povjerenja u Boga. Njemu je sve moguće. Ubrzo sam se našla s Ivanom na kavi.

Objasnila sam joj da je moja bolest smrtna. Bila je jako tužna, ali i ljuta. Optužila me da sam joj cijelo vrijeme lagala. Priznala mi je kako je i sama gugalala. Sve joj je poznato, ali nije joj jasno zbog čega sam godinama o tome šutjela. Jedva sam joj uspjela objasniti da joj nisam lagala. “Ivana, shvati da niti sama nisam svjesna da sam ozbiljno bolesna”. Odlučila sam nastaviti normalno živjeti i poslušati mamine savjete.

Nisam dopuštala da me drugi doživljavaju kao invalida. Oboljeli od cistične fibroze moraju izbjegavati zadimljene prostore. Ipak sam odlazila u klubove, ali sam svakih pola sata izlazila na terasu kako bih udahнула svježi zrak. Prije dvije i pol godine upoznala sam Danijela. On je u to vrijeme redovito dolazio u kafić u blizini mamina bivšeg frizerskog salona. Najprije smo se dugo dopisivali na Fejsu.

Jedan dan me pozvao na kavu. Shvatila sam kako naš odnos postaje ozbiljan. Odlučila sam mu priznati da sam smrtno bolesna. Nikada neću zaboraviti njegovu reakciju. Sjedili smo u jednom šibenskom kafiću. Danijel je prepričavao nekakav događaj s posla. Strpljivo sam čekala da završi. Počela sam mu govoriti da sam bolesna i ne mogu imati djecu. Zbog osteoporoze ću jednom završiti u invalidskim kolicima.

Moja bolest je smrtonosna. Danijel je zaplakao. Počela sam ga odgovarati od naše veze. Predložila sam mu da prekinemo dok se nismo previše zbližili. Osjećala sam se očajno. Htjela sam prekinuti s čovjekom u kojeg sam već bila jako zaljubljena. “Nema šanse”, odgovorio je moj Danijel. Rekao mi je ga ništa od svega što sam izgovorila ne zanima. Ponavljao je kako me voli i želi biti uz mene do kraja.

Posljednjih godinu dana živimo zajedno. Danijel mi u svemu pomaže, podsjeća me da popijem lijek i ljuti se kada ga to ne napravim. Zagrli me kada sam neraspoložena. “Nemoj

razmišljati o budućnosti. Živi iz dana u dan”, neprestano mi ponavlja. Često se šalimo na račun moje bolesti. Neki dan sam mu rekla: “Nema veze, kada umrem, naći ćeš drugu, puno bolju curu od mene” Danijel radi kao soboslikar, a ja sam nezaposlena.

Završila sam Poljoprivrednu školu u Šibeniku, ali sam oduvijek htjela biti frizerka. Još sam se kao djevojčica oduševila maminim poslom. Ali ne smijem zbog bolesti. Država nam zabranjuje da radimo. Jer, kada bih prihvatila neki honorarni posao, ostala bih bez invalidnine u iznosu od 1250 kuna na mjesec, a tko zna koliko bih dugo mogla raditi. Sada sjedim doma i dosađujem se. Ponekad odem u šetnju ili popijem kavu s prijateljicama.

Prije nekoliko godina upoznala sam jednu djevojku iz Slovenije koja je također imala cističnu fibrozu. Vrlo brzo smo se sprijateljile, imala sam osjećaj da me potpuno razumije. Često smo chatale. Njezino zdravstveno stanje odjednom se naglo pogoršalo, u inboks mi je napisala kako uskoro ide na transplantaciju pluća. Odgovorila sam joj da bude hrabra, sve će biti okej, uskoro će dobiti nova pluća i lakše disati. Poslala mi je jedan smajličić. To je bila njezina posljednja poruka.

Nakon toga se danima nije javljala, konstantno sam visila na njezinom profilu. Brinulo me što nije objavila niti jednu rečenicu, nikakvu sliku, baš ništa iz čega bih mogla shvatiti kako je prošla operacija. Onda je napokon na profil stavila svoju sliku iz bolnice, izgledala je očajno i užasno iscrpljeno. Napisala sam joj poruku. “Molim te, javi mi što se zbiva”. Nikada mi nije odgovorila. Nakon tri dana na njezinom profilu počeli su se redati posljednji pozdravi. RIP. Znači, moja prijateljica je umrla.

A za nekoliko mjeseci je trebala doći kod mene u Šibenik. Bila sam očajna. Znala sam da većina oboljelih od cistične fibroze očekuje transplantaciju pluća. Prvi put me uhvatio strah. Tko zna kada ću ja završiti na transplantaciji? Što ako prođem kao ona? Kako će Danijel

podnijeti moju smrt? Znam da je dečko moje prijateljice iz Slovenije bio jako potresen, još uvijek se nije oporavio od njezine smrti.

Nikada nisam zamišljala svoj sprovod. Mislim da bih poludjela kada bih razmišljala na taj način. Isto tako, nikada mi nije palo na pamet da, po uzoru na one američke filmove, sastavim popis stvari koje bih htjela napraviti do smrti. Ne znam kada ću umrijeti. To se može dogoditi sutra ili za dvije godine. Ne želim život planirati na temelju jednog statističkog podatka. U knjigama piše da cističari umiru u tridesetima.

Neki od njih odu prije, a u zapadnim zemljama, gdje se oboljeli liječe eksperimentalnim lijekovima, životni vijek je znatno duži. Živim za svaki dan. Kada sam dobro, našminkam se, napravim frizuru, obučem štikle i odem van. Kada sam loše, onda ostanem kod kuće u trenirci. Prije tri godine jedan obiteljski prijatelj pokrenuo je humanitarnu akciju za nabavku novog inhalatora i tzv. Vest prsluka.

Danas se zahvaljujući tim aparatima osjećam znatno bolje i lakše dišem. U akciju se uključilo mnogo ljudi. Neki od njih su, nažalost, prigovarali da se skuplja novac za curu koja ušminkana prolazi Šibenikom. To im nisam zamjerila. Oni ipak ne mogu znati da moja dotjerana pojava ne znači da sam zdrava, nego samo da imam dobar dan.

Source:

Zemunović, R. (2016). Matea ima užasno rijetku čudnu bolest, doktori kažu da će živjeti još desetak godina. Ovo je njezin dnevnik. *Telegram*. Retrieved from: <http://www.telegram.hr/zivot/matea-ima-uzasno-rijetku-cudnu-bolest-doktori-kazu-da-ce-zivjeti-jos-desetak-godina-ovo-je-njezin-dnevnik/>

PEKING – MODERAN KINESKI ZMAJ

Odlučite li se za obilazak samo nekih, najrazvikanijih znamenitosti u osnovnoj turističkoj ponudi Pekinga, budite spremni na činjenicu da ćete izlizati cipele. Naime, Peking je golem grad koji nudi mnogo zanimljivosti, no upoznavanje grada zahtijeva i dosta vremena. To je grad s nekoliko lica - u njemu možete vidjeti reprezentativne primjere tradicionalne arhitekture i slike života nepromijenjene već stoljećima, ali i hladne, glomazne i nemaštovite zgrade socrealističke arhitekture. Naravno, tu je i ovaj današnji moderni Peking koji se naglo širi, raste i mijenja.

Otvoreni Zabranjeni grad

Srce Pekinga je Zabranjeni grad, glavni i najveći primjer tradicionalne arhitekture carske povijesti toga grada. Taj kompleks povijesnih građevina u sklopu carske palače sagrađen je između 1406. i 1420. godine, u vrijeme vladavine dinastije Ming, i zauzima 72000 četvornih metara te gotovo 10000 prostorija. Carska je palača najveća i najbolje očuvana u Kini. U razdoblju od gotovo pola milenija (491. godina), odnosno od trećeg cara iz dinastije Ming (Zhu Di) do posljednjeg kineskog cara iz dinastije Qing (pu Yi), u ovoj su palači živjela i vladala ukupno 24 cara. Restaurirana je mnogo puta, ali je i do danas uglavnom zadržala izvorni izgled iako su se u novije vrijeme tu ugnijezdili i dućani sa suvenirima, restorani i podružnice Starbucks.

Glavni ulaz naziva se Meridijan vrata (Wumen) zbog vjerovanja da su carevi sinovi Neba te da trebaju živjeti u središtu svijeta. Pravo prolaska kroz središnji luk ovih vrata imao je jedino car. Carica je to pravo imala jednom, i to na dan vjenčanja, a ostali dostojanstvenici i članovi carske obitelji smjeli su prolaziti samo kroz manje lukove. Grad je bio dobro čuvan i obični

ljudi nisu mogli ulaziti u njega, a čak i pokušaji samovoljnog ulaska kažnjavali su se smrtnom kaznom.

Zabranjeni grad danas teško da ima pravo na ime koje nosi. Prostor koji je nekoć bio nedostupan običnim smrtnicima u današnje je doba gotovo nemoguće dobro upoznati upravo iz suprotnog razloga. Naime, svakoga dana već od ranog jutra tisuće ga posjetitelja opsjedaju, zavirujući gotovo u svaki kutak carskog doma i škljocajući fotoaparatom od blagajne do izlaza. Od rijeke domaćih i stranih turista koji se kreću u grupama predvođeni vodičima sa zastavicama i megafonima, ali i od brojnih kineskih prodavača koji će vas cijelim putem vući za rukav nudeći suvenire teško je išta pošteno razgledati.

Ipak, lako ćete uočiti da se grad sastoji od dvije cjeline. Tri glavne palače nalaze se u unutrašnjem dvorištu: Dvorana uzvišenog sklada, Dvorana savršenog sklada i Dvorana očuvanja sklada. Najveća među njima je Taihe Dian, Dvorana uzvišenog sklada, podignuta 1406. godine. Ovdje su održavane velike svečanosti prigodom careva rođendana, slavio se zimski solsticij, kineska Nova godina i slično. Već u trenutku kada bi se car pojavio, cijeli bi dvor morao čelom devet puta dodirnuti pod. Unutrašnjost dvorene ukrašena je motivima zmajeva koji su bili simbol carske moći. U prilikama kad bi se obraćao podanicima car bi sjeo u takozvano Zmajevu prijestolje, a na stropu ga je čuvao prikaz "dva zmaja u igri s biserom". Naime, smatralo se da biser ima moć prepoznati onog koji namjerava ugroziti carsku moć. U tom bi slučaju biser otpao sa stropa i ubio potencijalnog uzurpatora.

Unutrašnje dvorište zatvaraju Palača nebeske čistoće, Dvorana jedinstva i Palača zemaljskog mira. Tu su i mnoge druge palače, dvorane, nadsvođeni prolazi i carski vrt za čiji biste imalo pažljiviji obilazak trebali odvojiti cijeli dan. Ipak, nemojte se obeshrabriti, carsku se palaču zaista isplati vidjeti. Zbog iznimne spomeničke vrijednosti 1987. godine kompleks Zabranjenoga grada uvršten je na popis svjetske kulturne baštine i pod zaštitom je UNESCO-a.

Nebeski hram

Osim zabranjenoga grada i Tiananmena, jedan od najvećnjih povijesnih spomenika i prepoznatljivih simbola Pekinga je i Nebeski hram (Tiantan) iz 15. stoljeća. Vladari dinastije Ming i Qing odlazili bi onamo triput godišnje kako bi prinijeli žrtvu i tako osigurali dobru žetvu, opće blagostanje i oprost grijeha.

Kompleks će posebno oduševiti svakoga koga zanimaju brojevi, simbolika i akustika. Okrugli oltar (Yuan Qiu) visok pet metara, koji je carevima služio kao žrtveno mjesto, sačinjen od tri mramorna prstena koji predstavljaju Pakao, Zemlju i Nebo. Neparni brojevi smatrali su se božanskim, a posebno mjesto među njima imao je broj devet kao najveći jednoznamenasti neparni broj. Sve što prebrojite na oltaru, bilo broj stuba, balustrada ili kamenih ploča biti će ili devet ili umnožak toga broja. U samom središtu oltara je okrugli Kamen nebeskog srca okružen 81 kamenom. Stanete li na kamen, izgovorite nešto i vaš će se glas vratiti kao jasna i mnogo glasnija jeka odbijajući se od kamene balistrade.

Najvažnija se ceremonija održavala nešto prije zimskog solsticija kada bi car s pratnjom odlazio do Carske nebeske riznice, kružne građevine čiji izgled podsjeća na kišobran. Građevina je okružena zidom jeke. Kažete li nešto, pa i najtiše, na jednom kraju zida, druga će vas osoba moći jasno čuti na drugoj strani. U blizini zida je i najstariji čempres u gradu, star navodno oko tisuću godina.

U Dvorani molitve za dobru žetvu (Qinian Dian) molilo se, naravno, za dobru žetvu. To je kružna građevina koju podupire 28 stupova koji simbolički dijele građevinu na 4 godišnja doba, 12 mjeseci te 12 dijelova dana i noći. Hram je 1889. izgorio do temelja. Ponovo je podignut sljedeće godine, a zanimljivo je da novi potporni stupovi potječu iz Oregina. Možda je najljepše u njega doći rano ujutro kada gotovo i nema posjetitelja, a oni malobrojni su uglavnom stariji ljudi koji se opuštaju ili vježbaju tai chi.

Ljetna palača

Malo izvan samog središta grada, uz jezero Kunming, smještena je Ljetna palača, sagrađena 1750. godine. Ona je zajedno s velikim parkom bila devastirana tijekom drugog Opijumskog rata. Godine 1888. slavna carica dinastije Qing Dowager Cixi odlučila je na tome mjestu podići palaču novcem predviđenim za modernizaciju mornarice. Rekonstrukcija je trajala više od deset godina i gotovo je odmah nakon radova palača ozbiljno oštećena u tzv. boksačkom ustanku 1900. godine. Kako bi je primjereno uredila, carica Cixi ponovo je zagrabila u državne fondove i još jednom obnovila palaču. To je bio njezin dom u kojem je raskošno živjela, vladala zemljom do duboke starosti, priređivala veličanstvene zabave te u njoj čak zatvorila svoga supruga. Bez obzira na sve napade, palača je svaki put preživjela i bila obnovljena te je danas prekrasan primjer carske arhitekture. Teško je bilo što posebno izdvojiti jer cijeli prostir - parkovi, hramovi, dvorane, strme, u stijene uklesane stepenice, jezero, most, šarena carska tržnica - čini harmoničnu cjelinu.

Parkovi - zeleno srce grada

Želite li se skloniti s ulica i uživati malo u miru, uputite se u neki od pekinških parkova. Grad obiluje zelenim oazama i neće vam biti teško pronaći neku od njih. Zapadno od Zabranjenoga grada na obali jezera Beihai, nalazi se istoimeni park star 800 godina. Navodno je ondje bila rezidencija Kublaj-kana, no sve što je ostalo od nekadašnjeg velikog dvora je posuda od zelenog žada iz 1265. godine u takozvanom Okruglom gradu. Posebna je i statua Bude od bijelog žada u dvorani Chengguang, kao i pregrada devet zmajeva. Čim prijeđete most koji spaja kopno i otok, naći ćete se ispred Hrama vječnog mira (Yongan), a kroz njega ćete stići do Bijele dagobe, građevine koja dominira otokom i cijelim parkom. Ujutro u parku možete promatrati kaligrafe kako umaču debele kistove u vodu i svojim znakovima oslikavaju staze, a

možete se i priključiti grupicama koje plešu ili vježbaju tai chi.

Pekinška patka

Budući da vas višesatno tumaranje ulicama doista može iscrpiti, kad-tad poželjet ćete nešto pojesti, no u Pekingu nije jednostavno utažiti glad. Želite li izbjeći podsmijehe sveprisutnih konobara i gostiju za susjednim stolovima, vještinu baratanja štapićima svakako savladajte prije putovanja u Kinu. Nemojte misliti da će vas spasiti supermarketi i sendviči. Namirnice koje su nama standardna ponuda u svakoj trgovini, kao što su sir, namazi, razni naresci ili kruh, teško se nalaze u njihovim supermarketima, ali su zato, čini se, svi odreda specijalizirani za tisuće vrsta slatikiša i bombona vrlo različitih okusa. Isprobavanje hrane što se nudi na ulici ili u restoranima možda je i uzbudljivije nego penjanje na Kineski zid. Ono čemu se trebate nadati pri ulasku u restoran, ako ne znate čitati kineske znakove, jelovnik je s fotografijama onog što se nudi. Takvi se jelovnici nalaze u mnogim restoranima, no nema ih u malim restoranima smještenim u četvrtima koje nisu navikle na turiste. Hrana je izgledom privlačna i zanimljiva, egzotična i najčešće vrlo začinjena. Dopustite si eksperimentiranje jer je većina jela vrlo slasna, a porcije su obilne. Restorani se otvaraju oko 10 ili 11 sati i cijene su prihvatljive. Postoje, naravno, i skupi restorani koji u cijenu uključuju i kristalne lustere i golem broj konobara.

Vjerojatno ćete poželjeti probati slavnu pekinšku patku, jedan od simbola ovoga grada. Recept za pripremu razvio je jedan od carskih kuhara dinastije Ming, a kasnije se proširio izvan carskih blagovaonica i prvi je restoran specijaliziran za patku otvoren 1864. godine. Priprema patke kompliciran je postupak i zahtijeva stručnost i vrijeme. Nakon što je patka pečena, kuhar će vas pozvati da je vidite prije rezanja. Patka na stol stiže narezana na 120 tankih komadića, uključujući i glavu s kljunom. Uz patku ćete dobiti i tanko, okruglo bijelo tijesto, narezani mladi luk, sojin umak i krastavce, a tada sljedi točno propisani ritual:

komadić mesa prvo se umoči u sojin umak i stavi na tijesto, doda se komadić-dva luka, sve se to srola kao u palačinku i rukama prinese ustima. Naravno, postupak se ponavlja pri svakom zalogaju.

Želite li probati hranu s ulice, samo naprijed! Najbolje mjesto za to su otvoreni štandovi na Noćnoj tržnici u blizini ulice Wangfujing, koja počinje raditi oko četiri poslijepodne. Mjesto je vrlo popularno, prometno, a kad padne mrak, osvijetljeno crvenim lampionima. Tu ćete naći široku ponudu: razne juhe, rezance u ljutim umacima, kebab, pileća srca, tofu, školjke, škampe, salate, ražnjiće s prženim stonogama, škorpionima, lignjama, hobotnicama, zmijama i još mnogo toga. Za desert su prepolovljeni ananasi, kivi, jagode, papaja i dinje na ražnjićima. Što se tiče pića, pivo je vrlo popularno i jeftino, kao i douzhi, napitak od jogurta i soje. Čaj je već dobro poznat kao jedan od simbola Kine, a osim triju glavnih vrsta čaja (Zeleni, crni i Wulong), sve je popularniji i čaj od jasmína.

Cjenkanje na Silk Marketu

U Pekingu možete obaviti i dobar šoping jer je u gradu mnogo dućana, trgovačkih centara, robnih kuća i tržnica. Dućani se otvaraju oko 8, a zatvaraju oko 21 sat. U njima možete naći sve, od najjeftinije robe i suvenira do ekskluzivne robe s potpisom. Cijene u dućanima uglavnom su određene - iako i tu možete tražiti i dobiti popust.

Tržnice su druga priča. Trebate znati da su turisti na meti prodavača pa je početna cijena robe bezobrazno visoka, ali se ona cjenkanjem može bitno sniziti. Štoviše, cjenkanje je neizostavan dio u procesu kupnje. Najbolje je dobro se pripremiti i oboružati strpljenjem. Spustiti cijenu za tenisice s početnih 300 jena na oko 70 (oko 50 kuna) ne bi vam trebao biti veći problem. Na Silk Marketu, vrlo popularnoj tržnici, dovoljno je okrenuti se, praviti ste da ste nezainteresirani i krenuti prema susjednom štandu. Cilj cjenkanja je postići cijenu s kojom će biti zadovoljne obje strane. Na ovoj je tržnici golema ponuda tenisica i traperica svih

marki, odjeće za svaki ukus, svile i kašmirskih vesta, ruksaka, torbi, naočala, svojekakog nakita, igračka i druge robe. Satove Lolex (Rolex) možete nabaviti za smiješno nisku cijenu.

Jedna od najcjenjenijih tržnica je Dashilar koja postoji oko 400 godina. U vrijeme dinastije Qing tu su se otvorili razni specijalizirani dućani od kojih neki rade i danas. Za one koji žele izvorne suvenire tu je Panijayuan market. Tržnica je otvorena vikendom, a specijalizirana je za rukotvorine i antikvitete, no treba biti stručnjak za razlikovanje krivotvorina od originala. Roba s potpisom tu se nabavlja u ulici Wanfujing i trgovačkom centru Orijental Plaza. Grad zaista obiluje tržnicama i dućanima i isplati se malo pronjuškati kako biste saznali gdje se što nudi i po kojim cijenama.

Grad koji mijenja svoje lice

U posljednjih dvadesetak godina Peking su zahvatile mnoge promjene. Grad nestrpljivo raste, pršti energijom i gomila kapitala. Pred sve većim brojem posjetitelja i stranih ulagača otvara se grad spreman zagospodariti svjetskom političkom, ekonomskom i kulturnom scenom. Posvuda se vidi da je nastupilo novo doba. Moderni neboderi, poslovni centri, videozaslone, dućani svjetskih robnih marki, noćni klubovi, barovi, moderne galerije samo su dio onoga što se pojavilo gotovo preko noći u doneavno sivom i sterilnom gradu. Starije se generacije teško nose s ovako brzim i velikim promjenama, ali čini se da su one mlađe prihvatile nova pravila. Mladi prate modu, MTV, sve je prisutnija i alternativna scena, a fakultetsko se obrazovanje smatra kartom za bolji život. Naravno, uvijek postoji i druga strana. Korupcija i cenzuriranje medija neki su od glavnih razloga općeg nezadovoljstva državnim politikom. Stotine tisuća ljudi dolazi u Peking iz svih krajeva u potrazi za poslom i boljim životom, no kako nema dovoljno posla za sve, nezaposlenost je velik problem. Golem broj automobila i teška industrija stvorili su od Pekinga grad u kojemu je teško disati, a zagađenost je veća nego ikada. Dobivanje domaćinstva za Olimpijske igre bio je dobar poticaj da gradske vlasti

konačno nešto poduzmu po tom pitanju. Uništavaju se cijele četvrti i ulice, a stanovnici se masovno iseljavaju kako bi na mjesto njihovih domova došle moderne stambene i poslovne zgrade. Grad zaslijepljen napretkom možda ne vidi kolika se šteta nanosi kulturnom i povijesnom identitetu. Iako naglo mijenja izgled pred nadirućom globalizacijom, Peking je u svojim brojnim palačama i hramovima, brižno njegovanim parkovima i slikovitim muzejima uspio sačuvati autentični duh drevne kineske kulture i umjetnosti, kao i tradicionalnog stila života. Usporedo s tim arhaičnim duhom u Pekingu postoji i posve nov, moderan i nesputan duh nošen prozapadnim vjetrovima. Upravo simbioza i blisko prožimanje ova dva pola pekinške sadašnjosti čine ovaj grad zanimljivim za svakog posjetitelja bez obzira na njegove profesionalne ili turističke afinitete.

Source:

Grabovac, V. (2008). Peking – Moderan kineski zmaj. *Meridijani* 126, p. 66-82.

Appendix D

Što se u 80 godina promijenilo u životu Hrvata: Kako živi narod - izvještaj o pasivnosti

Tridesetih godina prošlog stoljeća Rudolf Bićanić obilazio je različita mjesta u Hrvatskoj i BiH i bilježio razgovore s lokalnim stanovnicima. Rezultat je izvanredna sociološka i ekonomska studija objavljena u knjizi “Kako živi narod”. Osamdeset godina poslije umjetnica Kristina Leko krenula je Bićanićevim stopama da bi opisala kako živi narod - 80 godina poslije

Ima jedna osnovna činjenica bez koje se ne može razumjeti gospodarski život pasivnih krajeva: nad tim krajevima neprestano lebdi sablast gladi, pisao je u knjizi iz 1936. godine “Kako živi narod. Život u pasivnim krajevima”, Rudolf Bićanić, ekonomist, sociolog, političar, doktor prava.

Bićanić je obilazio mjesta, najčešće u zaleđu, koja se nalaze u nepovoljnijim geografskim i klimatskim uvjetima, putujući željeznicom, a vrlo često i pješice, i bilježio razgovore s lokalnim stanovnicima. Knjiga ispituje sociološke aspekte kvalitete života u Hrvatskom zagorju, Gorskom kotaru, Lici i Dalmaciji, među planinskim stočarima u Primorju i Bosni, Dalmatinskoj zagori, na otoku Braču, u području Neretve, Posavine.

U knjizi, je dalje, pisao: “Teške su to riječi, ali istinite: Tri četvrtine svih Hrvata nemaju kreveta. Kad se raspravlja o životnom standardu, onda se obično smatra, da k neophodnoj potrebi života svakog pojedinca, spada u najmanju ruku, barem krevet. To se računa u minimum udobnosti za čovječji život. Pa ipak, s gledišta cjelokupnog hrvatskog naroda moramo danas reći, da svi oni, koji imaju svoj vlastiti krevet spadaju, u stvari, među privilegirane”.

Bilježio je životne prilike i društveno-ekonomske odnose, dopunjavao je podatke statistikom, ali se ponajprije posvećivao pojedinom čovjeku i idejama ljudi koji tamo žive kako da dođe do promjene. Pisao je i o velikoj smrtnosti djece u Dalmatinskoj zagori, koja je u to doba do pete godine života iznosila šezdeset posto, o tome kako se po vodu putuje šest sati, o neravnopravnom odnosu seljaka i “gospode”. Mnoge se rečenice iz knjige čine i danas vrlo aktualne, primjerice: “Seljak na pitanje razduženja ne gleda samo kao na stvaranje prilika za novo zaduženje. Zbog toga ne traži seljaštvo samo razduženje i jeftine kredite, nego zahtijeva upravo reorganizaciju čitavog kreditnog sistema.”

Bićanić je knjigu počeo pisati nakon što je izašao iz zatvora, u kojemu je bio kao suradnik Vladka Mačeka, i gdje je kako piše u knjizi bio “osamljen i odijeljen od ljudi”.

Kako živi narod danas, osamdeset godina nakon prve Bićanićeve knjige, istražila je umjetnica Kristina Leko čija se izložba “Kako živi narod - izvještaj o pasivnosti” u rujnu otvara u

Muzeju suvremene umjetnosti. Leko putuje istim krajevima Hrvatske i dijelova BIH te razgovara s ljudima i na tragu Bićanića bilježi životne okolnosti.

Kako živi narod, treba znati svatko tko želi biti javni radnik, smatrao je Bićanić. Angažirana umjetnica, koja smatra da je “obaveza umjetnika kritički razmišljati o društvu”, do sada se bavila temama mljekarica s Dolca, izbjeglica iz Iraka, naših iseljenica u New Yorku... U umjetničkom se kontekstu prvi put Bićanićevim radom pozabavila u godini krize 2008., kada je izvela performans u sklopu kojega je čitala ulomke iz njegove knjige na temu zaduženosti. Bićaniću se vraćala i kasnije, posebno posljednje tri godine koliko je provela na terenu, istražujući kako živi narod.

Knjiga iz tridesetih, tumači, danas je vrlo aktualna: “Ova je studija temelj socijalnih znanosti u nas, ali i literarno djelo, i trebalo bi je danas ponovno čitati. Bićanić je, naime, bio uvjeren da ljudi najbolje sami znaju što treba poduzeti kako bi njima i njihovoj zajednici bilo bolje. On je završio u zatvoru, uostalom, jer je kritički pisao o tadašnjoj ekonomiji. Ustvari se bavio demistifikacijom ekonomske teorije tada, tridesetih godina, što je danas ponovo aktualno, da spomenemo samo francuskog ekomonista Thomasa Pikettyja, kao i bivšega grčkog ministra financija Janisa Varufakisa. Ta osnovna misao da ljudi sami znaju ekonomiju je i misao vodilja ove izložbe.”

Kristina Leko, koja sa suprugom, američkim umjetnikom Davidom Smithsonom (koji je inače autor postava ove izložbe) i sa sinom živi u Berlinu, gdje predaje kao docentica na Umjetničkoj akademiji, kaže da je motivacija za izložbu djelomice proizašla iz njezine osobne frustracije: “Na neki sam način izbačena iz zemlje, kao i puno ljudi koji su razočarani otišli zadnjih godina. Govori se o ekonomskoj emigraciji, no to je doista jedna nova politička migracija i emigracija, slično se zbilo 70-ih. No, o tome se ne govori koliko i kako bi trebalo”. A osobna je priča sljedeća: “Tri puta sam se natjecala na posao na zagrebačkoj Likovnoj

akademiji, u sva tri slučaja u neregularnim natjecajima. U Berlinu sam se natjecala, nisam imala nikakvu vezu, a bilo je osamdeset prijava”.

Izložba u MSU dokumentira i predstavlja osam obitelji iz različitih sredina iz Hrvatske, pa će tako biti osam cjelina, svaka će predstavljati jednu lokalnu mikroekonomsku zajednicu. Tlocrti kuća tih obitelji iscrtani su na podu i organizirani tako da je muzejski prostor pretvoren u imaginarno selo. Sve je obitelji portretirala i fotografijom i crtežom, razgovarala s njima, s njihovim prijateljima i susjedima. Na izložbi će biti i deset sati videomaterijala (u suradnji s Martinom Semenčićem), i obiteljskih predmeta i namještaja.

Sama umjetnica definira da izložbu nosi, kao ključna teza, “dijagnoza pasivnosti kao psihološke kategorije nacije”, i nastavlja: “Izabrala sam one obitelji koje marljivo rade i bore se za život te razmjerno skromno žive u pasivnim krajevima u kojima se mnoštvo iseljava.”

Koliko se toga može promijeniti izložbom? “Ovo je izložba koja se ne srami svoje ambicije da pomalo mijenja svijet. Puno se može promijeniti i ostvariti upravo kroz diskusiju. I ako ćemo si uzeti vremena i razmisliti što netko drugi govori i kako mu je.”

Izlovljeno more, penzioneri koji rade besplatno, crno tržište mesa, neprestana iseljavanja, branitelji i PTSP... Kako živi narod danas, ne zvuči baš idealno, što bi rekao Bićanić: “Ljudi neprekidno kukaju, govore da se ništa ne može promijeniti, to pristajanje na nedobro i loše, ta pasivnost je postala nacionalna psihološka kategorija. Vjerujem u promjenu, zato što imam iskustvo života i rada u zemljama u kojima se promjena dogodila. Upravo zbog toga sam svoju umjetničku organizaciju ućlanila u Zadrugu za etičko financiranje, čija je namjera da se jednog dana napravi etička banka, unutar te zadruge naći ćemo tvrtke s kojima ćemo raditi jer, primjerice, želimo da na izložbu dođe puno mladih ljudi, da u MSU razgovaraju o problemima i promjeni, i da izložba za njih bude besplatna.”

Ističe suradnju s Jasnom Jakšić, kustosicom izložbe, te niz suradnica koje su joj pomogle na terenu, u anketama. Uz suradnju s kazališnom redateljicom Anicom Tomić i filozofkinjom Ankicom Čakardić te povjesničarkom umjetnosti Kosjenkom Laszlo Klemar, radi na edukaciji šezdeset vodiča, koji će na izložbi moderirati diskusije s publikom.

“Želim da to bude izložba na kojoj se aktivno misli i razgovara. Čemu cijeli trud ako je izložba napravljena za petstotinjak ljudi, koji će doći i otići za sat vremena i neće im se dogoditi ništa bitno. Zajedno sa Zadrugom za etičko financiranje želimo izložbu sljedeće godine dovesti u manje sredine i tamo potaknuti diskusiju.”

Osim na Bićanića, izložba se naime poziva i na Brehta: “Zanima me koncept Brechtove aktivne publike, u demokratskim društvima sve je jača ideja aktivnog nereprezentativnog muzeja”.

Crteži, fotografije i priče koje donosimo djelo su umjetnice Kristine Leko.

Razgovori s obitelji Salapić u Žablaku, Livno, bili su izuzetno zanimljivi i kvalitetni. Razgovarali smo direktno inspirirani Bićanićevom knjigom koju sam obitelji poklonila nekoliko mjeseci ranije. Tijekom mojeg boravka u Livnu iskristalizirala su se dva prijedloga za ekonomske intervencije tj. reforme.

Ljuban Salapić, glava obitelji, formulirao je prijedlog reforme javne uprave, njegova kći, diplomirana upravna pravica, koja je u to doba bila pripravnica u jednom javnom poduzeću, formulirala je prijedlog naveden u donjem, prethodnom postu. Taj prijedlog nije šala nego se radi o realnom odslikavanju prakse zapošljavanja u javnim institucijama u susjednoj BiH, koja nije bitno različita u RH.

Zapošljavanje u pravilu nije motivirano poslom tj. radnim zadacima, nego se zapošljavanjima preko veze stvaraju strukture tj. mreže političke moći. Kad sam Vesnu igrom slučaja posjetila na radnom mjestu, primijetila sam da nema svaki zaposleni svoj radni stol, osnovni preduvjet

za rad. Kada sam pitala rade li na nabavi stolova, Vesna se nasmijala. Ne trebaju nama stolovi, rekla je. Tako sam mogla zaključiti sljedeće: niti ima mjesta za stolove, niti posla za toliko ljudi. Niti je poanta u poslu. Zvone je stvorio brend drniškog pršuta, a nedavno ga i zaštitio kao izvornu tehnologiju, a Nevenka je radni vijek provela kao učiteljica engleskog u područnim školama šibenskog i splitskog zaleđa.

ZVONE MARIN, IZVADAK IZ BIOGRAFIJE: Kad se vratio sa studija, htio se Zvone zaposliti u drniškom Mesoprometu, no nije. Nije imao vezu. Dvije godine čeka posao, pa prihvati mjesto tržišnog inspektora u Vrgorcu 1970. Tamo pak nema ni poštene ceste. Supruzi Nevenki dadu mjesto u školi. Dadnu im i stan. Zvone je jedini visokoobrazovani službenik. Predsjednik općine daje mu dodatne poslove za dodatnu plaću. Zvone radi dvanaest do petnaest sati dnevno: planira razvoj općine, piše programe, nalazi investicijska sredstva. Beskamatnim kreditom, namijenjenim obnovi Drniša poslije potresa, kupuju prvi auto i šivaću mašinu. Krajem sljedeće godine javi se Zvone na natječaj za inspektora u Šibeniku. U tom zvanju otkrit će puno privrednog kriminala, upoznati privrednike u kraju i naučiti kako se vode poduzeća. Tri godine prođu i 1974. ponude mu direktorsko mjesto u Mesoprometu Drniš, gdje će ostati sedam godina. Kad je došao, Mesopromet je sa 90 radnika proizvodio tri tisuće pršuta. Kad je odlazio, 300 je radnika i 70 tisuća pršuta. Znao je Zvone da se ne može bez investicija i dobrog tima. Nikad nije imao veću plaću od dobrog radnika, jer ne možeš imati dobar tim ako nisi jednak. Nikad nije bio problem još sa strane štogod zaraditi, kao tehnolog proizvodnje, kroz savjetovanja. Našao je Zvone investicijska sredstva za pršutanu i farmu. Proučio je sve pršutane u Italiji i stvorio marku drniškog pršuta, dao napraviti poster i znak.

Tito bi redovito uzeo po 300 pršuta na brod Galeb, pa ih poklanjao po svijetu. Ubrzo je Zvone shvatio da ne smije prikazati dobitak. Uprava mreže Mesoprometa uzimala im je dobit. Nisu mogli dalje, pa Zvone i tim uz podršku radnika organiziraju referendum s ciljem da se odvoje.

No, umiješa se politika i referendum padne na jednom glasu. Zvone s obitelji odseli u Split. Farmu i pršutanu preuzmu politički podobnici da na kraju sve upropaste. Od 1981. sljedeće četiri godine Zvone je direktor DALBIH mljekare u Splitu. Uz pomoć gradskih vlasti povratio je otkup mlijeka u Zagori. U Splitu je bilo nestalo mlijeka jer je hercegovačka mljekara preuzela kooperante i preusmjerila mlijeko u Mostar. Borba za tržište je uvijek bila gadna, a osobito miješanje politike, govori Zvone. Kao direktor DALBIH-a Zvone je rekonstruirao proizvodnju Livanjskog sira i napravio etiketu koja je i danas u upotrebi. Sanirao je kninsku mljekaru, a na Zrmanji uspostavio farmu koza, proizvodnju kozjeg sira, uzgoj junica i pršutanu od 5000 pršuta. Prvi je počeo proizvodnju šampinjona u jednom splitskom tunelu, te proizvodnju humusa. Preko njemačkih partnera u Arapske Emirate izvezao je Zvone 30 tisuća koza, koje su odletjele sa splitskog aerodroma, po 750 u avionu. Transportirali su ih tjedan dana. Odmah nakon tog uspjeha izdvojili su farmu koza. No, nisu više nikad uspjeli ništa izvesti. Onda su izdvojili i uzeli Livanjski sir. Uvijek je bilo tako, govori Zvone. Čim netko napravi zdravu proizvodnju, pojave se lešinari, izvuku novce i sve unište. Teško je bilo odoljeti pritiscima politike.

Source:

Kiš, P. (2016). Što se u 80 godina promijenilo u životu Hrvata: Kako živi narod – izvještaj o pasivnosti. Jutarnji list. Retrieved from: <http://www.jutarnji.hr/kultura/art/sto-se-u-80-godina-promijenilo-u-zivotu-hrvata-kako-zivi-narod-izvjestaj-o-pasivnosti/4628603/>